THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 104, NO. 21 NEW YORK, MONDAY, MAY 26, 1941 NUMBER 1382

Mistake Corrected

With the surrender of the Duke of Aosta and the virtual reconquest of Ethiopia, the first independent state to fall victim to Fascist conquest has been restored. How much blood, sweat and tears might have been avoided if Britain and France had prevented the aggression in the first place! We are now as far ahead as we were before 1936. Besides this primitive African state, there remain the long roll of other conquests, from Albania to Greece. We must make haste if it is not to take five more years to redeem the next victim.

Zamzam

What looked at first like the Lusitania case of this war turns out to be less serious, though bad enough. The Egyptian steamer Zamzam, which at first was feared lost with all hands, is now reported by Berlin to have been sunk by a German naval vessel, but the passengers and crew have been rescued and put ashore. The Germans say the Zamzam carried contraband and was thus a legitimate object of attack even though flying a neutral flag. Whether this is true or not we do not know and perhaps never shall. Meanwhile, if Berlin is not lying—and in this case we can think of no reason why it should be—the more than two hundred passengers and crew, including about 140 Americans, are still alive. Chalk up one piece of comparatively good news in an otherwise pretty gloomy week.

All Quiet on the Labor Front

The anthracite miners—after a stoppage of one day which did not in the least interfere with defense since there is a surplus of hard coal and it is not used by industry—won their first wage increase since 1923. The Railroad Brotherhoods have asked for a wage advance, noting a 43-percent increase in per-capita production on the railroads—but this demand will go through the usual course of mediation long established by law. The miners have not succeeded in bringing the Southern bituminous-coal operators into line and trouble may break out again in this important industry. Nevertheless the obstinacy of the employers can be broken by the government if it will act. Ford workers, as we go to press, are balloting for a representation agency; the CIO will probably win, if for no other reason than because Harry Bennett, Ford's labor-baiting employment manager, attributed the recent wage increase to AFL influence. The most important defense strike—that of the machinists in fifteen San Francisco shipyards—is opposed by the rest of the unionized workers in the yards who are not on strike, and may be ended soon. The Defense Mediation Board is making rapid work of most of the disputes submitted to it. The so-called "labor front" is quieter than for years.

Hess and the Nazi Elite

Although Rudolf Hess seems to have flown out of the front page almost as abruptly as he flew into it, the battle of theories over his mission continues. The whole truth about him will probably not be known except to the post-war historian. What we learn now has first to survive the crossfire of Nazi and British propaganda. Yet, whether we lean toward the insanity version and/or superplot "Trojan Hess" version, or the flight-from-purge version of the affair, there are some

CONTENTS

The Week 711
Editorials
Take the Aggressive! 714
The Soviet-Nazi Partnership 715
The FBI and Its Money 716
Is It a Good Farm Bill? 717
General Articles
What Comes After the War? 718
Paris, Germany . . . . Philip Brewster 720
The Invasion of Greece (verse) . Jeremy Ingalls 722
Who Caused the Aluminum Shortage? . . . . . Michael Straight 723
More Notes on Human Nature . . . . . Van Wyck Brooks 725
Martha Graham: A Dedication (verse) . . . . . John Malcolm Brinnin 727
Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 728
Another Hit . Muriel Burns and Otis Ferguson 729
The Bandwagon 729
Correspondence 730
Books in Review
No Defense . . . . Malcolm Cowley 732
Wolf! Wolf! . . . . . Bergen Evans 734
Rich and Various . . . . Edgar Johnson 735
What Must America Do? . . . Max Gissen 736
A Reader's List 737

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1941, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49TH ST., NEW YORK, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879
PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conclusions to be drawn from it that are of great moment for America. They have to do with the internal organization of Nazi power.

The Nazis are ruled today by a group of technicians, generals, administrators, with Hitler at their head. Ten years ago this ruling group was a handful of gangsters trying to maintain control within their party and aiming at power in Germany. Today they rule the European continent and there is no corner of the world into which they do not reach. The extension of their power has been more rapid than anything comparable in history. And with that extension has come a corresponding strain upon them. Today they face major decisions with respect both to America's possible entrance into the war and Russia's position toward it. There may actually have been friction in the ruling circles about this or there may only have been great tension. Any theory of Hess's mission must take account of this.

Hess and America

The moral for America is fairly clear. The Nazis are either so worried about our entrance into the war that they concocted this superplot to break British resistance and confuse American opinion before we should be able to enter; or else their worry has resulted in friction which has caused Hess to run for his life. Our job is to heighten that tension by throwing every resource into the war. We do not by any means argue that Hess's flight reveals weaknesses inside Germany which will bring about a German collapse. Hitler's administrative machine will hold up well so long as it continues to be victorious. Our point is that it is piling up tensions all the time. And once the tide of battle begins to turn against Hitler—as it must if America goes to war—those tensions may come dangerously close to the breaking point.

There are many in America who, even with our entrance into the war, cannot see an end to it except after many bloody years and an invasion of the Continent by an expeditionary force. They do not reckon with two factors. Once the scales of battle are weighted against the Nazis, the conquered nations of Europe will be in a better position to struggle against their yoke. And now we can see more clearly the second factor: once the Nazis begin losing, their internal administrative structure will crack faster and faster. That is the real lesson of the Hess affair.

The Right Place to Tax

At last the administration has come forward, through the person of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury John L. Sullivan, to recommend changes in the ridiculous excess-profits-tax law of 1940. So small a proportion of defense profits did this tax affect that it is not a question of stopping loopholes but of thorough revision. Mr. Sullivan testified that one company which had received contracts totaling $70,000,000 and is making profits 3,000 percent larger than in 1939 would pay no tax on excess profits. Only five of the twelve largest steel companies will pay any excess-profits tax on this year's earnings. Mr. Sullivan recommended changes which, he said, would yield more than an additional $1,000,000,000 from this source alone, or between one-quarter and one-third of the amount sought in new revenue. Surely this ought to be done before any additional taxes are placed on commonly used and available consumers' goods, or before personal income taxes are saddled with a five or sixfold increase.

The Life of One Friend

The Vichy government holds in its power a man who has devoted his life to trying to change the system which denied the majority of his countrymen education and sufficient food. The system was changed and he became a leader of a new government. His leadership was superseded when that government had to fight for its life against a new tyranny more implacably opposed to the freedom of man than the old. The fight was lost. He fled.

His name is Largo Caballero. He was formerly the Prime Minister of Spain. The Vichy government has imprisoned him in Marseilles and has refused to release him. Vichy has crushed into hopelessness in unspeakable concentration camps or shamelessly surrendered for execution tens, hundreds, thousands of exiles from Spain and Germany, friends of man's freedom. Largo Caballero can stand for them all. There is but one power on earth that can help Caballero—the United States. The State Department should say to Pétain: "By his belief in freedom this man is a friend of ours. By what you do with him we shall know whether you are friend or enemy. We are acting at once against our enemies."

News from Italy

Reports have just reached us from Italy which confirm the statement of Dr. Max Ascoli that Mussolini is no more than a local quisling who set himself up in advance. In Rome, in Naples and in all the great Italian cities, we learn that there are now German garrisons containing both infantry and aircraft units. Sicily has been occupied entirely by the Germans. Italians may no longer visit Sicily, much less take up residence there. While there is still a sufficiency of foodstuffs, the resistance of the Italian people is steadily increasing. We learn that the spectacular shelling of Genoa by the British navy, which caused tremendous damage to the dockyards and factories there, was made possible by the coöperation of an Italian radio operator, who informed the British of the exact position of the mine fields outside of Genoa, through which the British fleet sailed unscathed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Two Roads to Mosul

We are still in the dark as to the roads Hitler will choose into Irak and points south. His planes have already entered via Syria, landing men to take over the equipment left there by General Weygand's powerful army of last year. But it is not enough for Hitler to fly men into Syria; the heavy stuff that makes modern war possible must reach the Middle East somehow, and we do not know if he will take the risk of shipping it down to Syria, hugging the Turkish and Syrian coastline. This route would surely be the one most favorable to the British: their naval and air forces based on Crete, Cyprus and Alexandria could menace such a supply line even if it were protected by German bombers, Italian naval units and whatever ships Admiral Darlan may have to guard Nazi transit through Syrian waters.

What if Hitler decides, then, that this route plays into the hands of British seapower and casts around for a more protected passage? What alternatives, or supplementary roads, can he find?

The most convenient would be via Istanbul and the Turkish roads and railways. It would permit the entry of troops and heavy equipment into northern Syria and Irak—almost on top of Mosul itself. But as yet Turkey has not gone over to the enemy; we cannot be sure that she is ready to agree to the passage of German arms and men.

A Third Road

If Soviet pressure on Turkey is not effective, and if Germany is unwilling to force her into acquiescence now—preferring, as Hitler always has, a bloodless conquest by encirclement—there is a possibility of a third route, one that is more sheltered than the first and perhaps more easily arranged than the second. It is the route across the Black Sea to the Russian port of Batum. From here passage is available by road and rail to the Iranian border, landing the Germans closer to the oil fields than are the British forces based on Basra and Palestine.

Not long ago the notion that Stalin would coöperate with Hitler to the extent of allowing passage from a Russian port, over Russian territory, to her neighbor Iran, would have seemed the wildest dream. Today, we are prepared for anything. Stalin has already recognized the rebel regime in Irak. Can we say that in return for territory in Iran and elsewhere he will not consider transit across the Caucasus, at least for German equipment? The New York Times correspondent, C. L. Sulzberger, writing from Ankara, believes this is not impossible: he tells us that the Nazis have a huge assembly of barges in Black Sea ports and interprets German troop concentrations on the Russian border as perhaps part of the Nazi bargaining power in the matter of transit through Russia. This route to Mosul, if granted, would, he says, be a hard one to follow, but there is confidence that it could be taken successfully.

The advantages of this method are perfectly clear. Strategically it would give the Germans passage across one of the few seas in which England has no naval power. It would carry no threat of interference from the British armies in Palestine and southern Irak. It would make far more possible the capture of Mosul oil at its source, both helping to smash the oil blockade and establishing the second arm of the German pincer in the Middle East. It would complete the encirclement of Turkey, perhaps making her more amenable to opening her own roads and railways. It would, in short, be the most favorable opening to the Middle East campaign that Germany could want and there is no bribe for Stalin that would be too high if Hitler could obtain it.

Rapacity Approaches Treachery

If you were told that the United States Maritime Commission is insisting that complete information about the cargo, time of sailing and destination of American passenger and merchant ships be given to Germany and Japan you would tell your informant he was crazy. Those two excellent newspapermen, Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, show in their syndicated column that this is taking place. Their material, based on the current investigation by the Department of Justice, indicates that Bryant Ogden, of the Insurance Bureau of the Maritime Commission, under the cloak of the clause of the war-risk-insurance law which says that the government is to grant marine insurance only if private insurance is not available, is forcing United States shipping firms to take their insurance from private companies at such scandalous rates as $5 for $100. The private companies spread the risk by reinsuring with a pool, which includes two Japanese, one Italian, and five German as well as Norwegian, Danish and French firms. They pass on part of the huge profits and as a matter of course, all of the confidential information, to our enemies. The Department of Justice is a name that has the right ring to it in connection with this affair. May its investigators break into the game with crowbar and sledgehammer, and with a good criminal lawyer standing by.

Prize Winners

We take pleasure in announcing that Edgar J. Beigel, of the University of Pittsburgh, has won first prize in The New Republic's writing contest for college undergraduates, with his article, "Government Goes to College." Mr. Beigel will be a member of The New Republic's editorial staff for ten weeks this summer.

The second prize, $50, has been awarded to Frank Smith, of the University of Mississippi, for his article, "A Program for the South." Third prize, $10, goes to W. E. Deetche, of the University of California, for his essay, "It Does Not Toll for Them"; fourth prize,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$10, to Harold Gilliam, of the University of California at Los Angeles, for "Youth Requests a Hearing"; fifth prize, $10, to F. Conrad Buchwald, of Harvard University, for "Neutrality: Shadow and Substance."

The editors considered six writers worthy of honorable mention: Steele Gow of Williams College, William Greenblatt of the College of the City of New York, Robert Lekachman of Columbia University, Margaret McConn of Barnard College, Robert Louis Meyer of Indiana University and William Winter of the University of Missouri. A large number of manuscripts were submitted, most of them well written, most of them dealing with political and economic questions and with the war. The favorite subjects of undergraduate writers of a college generation ago, sex and educational problems, no longer draw much attention. In 1941, college men and women seem to see themselves as parts of a very much larger world.

News Notes of a Week

Anthracite-coal operators and the UMW signed a two-year agreement, ending a one-day strike. . . . A strike at the notoriously anti-labor Colt arms company at Hartford was settled by mediation in two days. . . . General Motors accepted the CIO request for a ten-cents-an-hour wage increase and the union dropped its demand for a closed shop, as the Mediation Board suggested. . . . A convention of the Episcopal Diocese of New York solemnly voted that all strikes are caused by Axis agents and that the labor problem would be solved if Matthew Woll replaced Secretary Perkins. . . . Mayor LaGuardia was reported appointed head of the Office of Civilian Defense. The purpose of the new agency is stimulation of industrial defense and civilian morale and setting up of a home-guard organization. . . . FDR pointed out significantly that the United States fought a successful undeclared war against Mediterranean pirates once, and against French brigandage in the Caribbean.

Vichy announced that Jews are now "foreigners," in a sickening imitation of a Nazi proclamation; 5,000 were routed from bed in Paris in Gestapo style and sent to concentration camps; 20,000 in all were reported seized. . . . Three hundred anti-Nazi refugees at Marseilles, who possess complete emigration papers, can be saved if money to evacuate them is raised instantly. Send a check to Frank Kingdon, chairman, Joint Appeal, 122 East Forty-second Street, New York City. . . . The Marquis de Aguiar, registered agent of monarchist and Catholic groups in Spain, said that Franco gave Hitler power to direct Spain's national and international policies, by a secret pact in 1938. . . . German troops and transport planes are reported assembled in Norway for an attack on Iceland. . . . The German attack on Crete was generally considered to be the start of a Nazi effort to ensure safe passage for troop transports proceeding from Greece to Syria.

Take the Aggressive!

THIS IS a bad week for the democracies, though not so bad as some people in this country seem to feel. Once again, we have been guilty of wishful thinking and have suffered a disappointment that could have been avoided if we had been realistic from the first.

From the time of the armistice there was never any real hope that the Vichy government would be able to make a stand against Germany or would not ultimately yield to Hitler in everything. The men who were put in charge were picked because they were known to be pro-fascist; every important friend of democracy or the democracies in France has long been in jail. The existence of Weygand's army in North Africa was never a threat that the war against Germany would be resumed; it was a bargaining point for the French in seeking to get the best terms they could manage.

In the long run, even the hope of getting reasonable terms from Hitler is of course delusive. He may have made promises to Pétain just now which the old Marshal believes will relieve the burden on the French; but if Pétain holds such an opinion he will soon find he was mistaken. Hitler intends to destroy the French nation and the French character completely, and there is no power except Britain and America to stop him. As soon as he has got what he wants from Pétain—the use of Syria and French Morocco, perhaps the fleet—he will brush aside his present terms and replace them with new and more drastic ones. Long ago he announced that this is the sensible course to take with a conquered people—make your demands separately and successively so that no one of them seems worth the cost of an attempted revolt, which would be almost hopeless in any case.

There is no doubt, of course, that the new French agreement makes the immediate problem of the British much graver. By the time these words are read, the British and French forces in Syria may be engaged in full-scale war. If so, it is quite possible that Weygand's men in North Africa may join the Italian and German forces in the attack on Suez. They will presumably coöperate with the Germans in the thrust down to Dakar.

Great Britain's Near Eastern position is rendered more equivocal by the present attitude of Russia and her satellite, Turkey. As we point out elsewhere, whether in fear or for some other reason, Stalin's alleged neutrality—it was never very neutral—seems to be turning more and more into coöperation with Germany. No one would be surprised to learn that the two dictators had made a secret agreement giving Germany chief control of the Dardanelles and Russia access to the Persian Gulf through Iran. The Germans may not need to go through Turkey, but if they do, there is a good chance that they will be unopposed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is difficult to see how the Turks could withstand the combined pressure of Stalin and Hitler.

It is exactly and literally true that the fate of the world for generations to come depends upon what the Americans do in the next few weeks and months. Unless we muster all our resources with the utmost speed, we shall greatly enhance the possibility of a final German victory and shall make a final German defeat far harder. It is heartbreaking to realize how much easier that defeat would have been if we had thrown in our forces only a few months ago. But the longer we wait, the greater the problem will be. Let no man think that delay offers any possible escape for this country from its dilemma. If we do not fight now, it is absolutely certain that we shall have to fight later, at a time of Hitler's choosing, with a far smaller probability that we shall be successful.

The great weakness of our present policy is our failure to take the aggressive on a single point. Over and over again, this country, like the others, has waited to see what Hitler is going to do and has then tried to think how we could stop him—and in some cases, we have not even gone so far. Every military strategist knows how great is the value of the initiative.

If America is to be saved, The New Republic believes that we should immediately and as a minimum do the following:

Participate with Great Britain in a joint expedition to seize Dakar, under a solemn promise that it will be held only for the period of emergency.

Seize also the islands in this hemisphere now claimed by the Vichy-Axis government.

Make a protective occupation of the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands and any other Atlantic territory needed for our defense.

Seize all the funds of the Axis powers in this country.

Suspend diplomatic relations with all of them and send home their joblot of spies and propagandists. We are learning nothing from keeping our own diplomatic representatives in the Axis countries that we cannot learn in other ways and we are subjecting ourselves to a poisonous flood of activity by agents who despise our weakness while they take advantage of it.

Use the entire American fleet, if necessary, to convoy military and other supplies to Great Britain, with the assurance that with adequate escort losses by submarine and air attack are infinitesimal.

Abandon our grotesquely unsuccessful policy of trying to aid countries that we hope will remain neutral and instead limit such aid to the countries that definitely show they are anti-Axis.

Dismiss the pro-fascists and anti-Semites in the American State Department who have been largely responsible for the policy mentioned and have used it as a device under cover of which they could aid their friends in the fascist countries.

Begin immediately an attempt to meet the fascist propaganda around the world with propaganda of our own designed to tell the truth about democracy as an offset to the mass of lies poured out by the Nazis.

Hitler and Mussolini have said repeatedly that there is nothing to fear from America because we are incapable of acting quickly and effectively in our own interest or that of democracy in general. Unless we can awaken from our present trance of immobility, history will say that they were right.

The Soviet-Nazi Partnership

EVER SINCE the arrangement between Hitler and Stalin at the beginning of the war, some have hoped that the Soviet Union, having collected its gains in Finland, the Baltic States, Poland and Rumania, would turn against its new-found ally. This change would come, it was predicted, when Nazi aggression veered toward the Balkans and the Middle East. The Balkan States have traditionally been close to Russia. No Russian government, it was thought, could admit German military dominance to the Black Sea and the Dardanelles, least of all a government which had noted and not forgotten Hitler's dream of a German Ukraine. And Hitler could not get to Mosul oil without passing over this territory.

It begins to appear, not only that these hopes will be disappointed, but that the Soviet Union is rapidly drifting into full partnership with the Axis. Though the Kremlin showed modest disapproval over the German conquests of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, it did so after they had become irretrievable. But it did not act, and what is more important, it apparently prevented Turkey from acting while there was yet time. It opened a back door into the Axis for itself by the neutrality pact with Japan. Stalin's assumption of the premiership has been interpreted as a preliminary step to the personal conferences customary among Axis dictators. Now he is not objecting to, and may even be assisting, German penetration into Asia Minor.

The significance of these facts is far more than strategic. They mean that the Soviet government wants to see Britain defeated in this war, and as quickly as possible. More than that, they imply that Stalin does not intend to fight Hitler in the near future. For if he did, he surely would not collaborate with his future enemy by aiding in the destruction of a possible ally, and by giving his opponent new military bases, new sources of oil and potential control over Russia's only warm-water outlet.

The idea that there is some fundamental conflict between the government of the Soviet Union and that of Nazi Germany is a tenacious one. There is indeed an unbridgeable ideological gulf between Nazism in its original formulation and communism as preached by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Third International. If one took their principles at face value, as absolutes in the realm of ideas—and their theorists have always insisted that this is necessary for understanding—then indeed one could not cease to be surprised by Russo-German collaboration. This partnership could be accounted for only by mutual deception, and its result would be determined by the respective cleverness of the partners in tricking each other.

Hitler's original animus was as much against "International Marxism" as against anything else, for this, he thought, had weakened and betrayed his own country. And Communists in turn could only hate the narrow Nazi theories of racial and national dominance which run directly counter to worldwide rule by the proletariat. But the outcome is one more proof of the validity of the liberal philosophy of instrumentalism which Communists so heartily despise—that a body of doctrine is to be judged not so much by its absolutes as by its outcome, and that choice of means often determines the end, rather than vice-versa.

For communism and Nazism are alike as two peas in their means—the technique of disciplined conspiracy, the one-party state, the complete contempt for anything that stands in their way, the primacy of power, the acceptance of all evil so long as it may be used, as they think, for a good end. And these methods have completely eclipsed the ideological formulations of both, so that now the differences in theory are of no real account, while the similarities of behavior make them natural allies who can coöperate for proximate ends.

Those who long ago accepted the fact that Marxism had vanished from the Soviet government and that Hitler's regime had in the press of affairs forgotten Nazi nationalism and Aryanism, expected nevertheless that two bordering empires oriented toward power must in the end clash with each other. Perhaps this is still true, but the eventuality seems to be far away. Stalin's reasoning appears to be that he can utilize Hitler's war machine to good effect in smashing the British Empire, and that he need not fear a victorious Germany in the future so much as he fears war with her in the present. The Soviet Union meanwhile wins territory—in the present instance probably access to the Persian Gulf—and gains time to build up its industrial machine, the modernization of its army and its war potential. Betrayal of nationalist China, which may be next on the program, would extend the Soviet domain in Eastern Asia.

Stalin has had much experience in liquidating former comrades in the climb to power, and probably expects eventually to deal with Germany and Japan in the conspiratorial game at which he is a past master. Perhaps he is right in regarding democracy—imperfect and splotchy as it is—as his most dangerous enemy. At any rate we should be prepared for an effort on his part to help Hitler dispose of it before he moves in another direction.

The FBI and Its Money

THE Federal Bureau of Investigation has just received from Congress the largest appropriation in its history. For next year, it will have $16,350,000, which should be compared with $13,768,000 for the current year and $6,178,076 for 1939. This is a startling increase over the amounts that were spent during the World War, when the largest annual sum was $2,272,657 in 1919.

It is difficult of course for an outsider to say whether so much money is needed. Hitler is a much tougher customer than the Kaiser; the world has learned a great deal in the past quarter of a century about sabotage, espionage and propaganda. While there has been little sabotage up to now, it seems probable that Hitler has been keeping his hands off for fear of accentuating the growing American hostility.

We hope the authorities in the Department of Justice will make very sure that J. Edgar Hoover uses his sixteen millions to detect and prevent actual or potential crime and not for any other purpose. Many patriotic American citizens have in the past been disturbed by things Mr. Hoover has said and done. Some of his utterances have suggested that he feels it is his duty to "crack down" on minorities holding unpopular beliefs even though they are guiltless of wrongdoing.

Mr. Hoover himself says that he has recently accumulated an enormous card-index of persons engaged in subversive activities "or any activities that are possibly detrimental to the internal security of the United States." His similar list twenty years ago included the names of many liberals whose activities were as far as possible from being detrimental.

He also says he is engaged in checking over great masses of the fingerprints of workers in defense industries. If this is an attempt to find foreign agents, it is almost certainly a waste of time: Germany would use no spy or saboteur whose fingerprints were already on file. Such activity might, however, serve to alarm and deter individuals engaged in quite legitimate activities —trade-union organization, for instance.

He has asked local police authorities all over the country to report to the FBI in advance all public meetings; does he really think spies do their plotting by hiring a hall?

He wants permission to tap wires in cases of sabotage, espionage, extortion and kidnaping (Congress passed a law forbidding wiretapping in 1934 but the FBI has continued the practice anyhow). Competent authorities believe wiretapping is of little value in such cases, but it is of enormous value in intimidating ordinary citizens and creating an atmosphere of terrorism.

There are some stalwart friends of civil liberty in the Department of Justice nowadays. We trust their vigilance, like charity, will begin at home.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Is It a Good Farm Bill?

ONE OF THE CURIOUS THINGS about the 1941 farm legislation is that although Eastern interests and newspapers have gone all out to defeat it, it passed both houses of Congress with large majorities, in the Senate with only two dissenting votes. Where opposition developed it was probably the most venomous in the long campaign to rehabilitate agriculture, but opposition was not so widespread either inside or out of Congress, and the journalistic eyewash came many thousands of columns below the mark set in 1938, when the Mark Sullivans were all but predicting an agrarian revolt if the farm bill was passed.[1] While on their financial pages some newspapers have been saying that certain aviation companies increased profits by 100 percent between the first quarters of 1940 and 1941, that twenty-five railroads had increased earnings by 198.2 percent and the steel industry by 91.6 percent, in their editorial columns they have called upon the farmer to share with labor whatever patriotic sacrifices were necessary for defense.

What is more important, however, is that some men of good will are worried about the impact of the new farm legislation on food prices. Compulsory loan rates at 85 percent of parity will increase loan levels approximately as follows:

Cotton, from	8.9	cents to	13.5	cents
Corn, from	61	cents to	70	cents
Wheat, from	65	cents to	96	cents

This does not necessarily mean a proportionate increase in consumer prices. The market had gradually anticipated this legislation. In addition, market prices may hang below the loan level. If a greater percentage of farmers keep their crops out of loan, as may well occur, the disparity between loan and market prices could increase. Furthermore, the farmer's share of processed farm products is so small that in many cases no price increase would be warranted. The farmer gets only one cent out of an eight-cent loaf of bread, 1.4 cents from a No. 2 can of corn, and but two cents out of a $2 shirt. The government's decision to support the prices of pork, dairy and poultry products, as a means of stimulating production for English and American war needs, has been a much stronger market influence. Although it is true that food prices will go higher, the consumer is not being gouged by the farmer. For years we have been getting tremendous bargains in agricultural products, and if the distress sale is now ended in the interests of a sound agricultural economy, we shall have no cause for complaint. Agricultural components in the cost of living are relatively lower than other components not only on a pre-war basis but in comparison with the average relation during the 1920's.

So much for the consumer. From the farmer's point of view, this bill is no treasury raid. Far from ending his World War effort with a debt-free plant and huge reserves, the farmer found himself bankrupt through overexpansion and its attendant evils and on the verge of a perpetual depression. Whereas before 1917 farmers got 15 percent of the national income, in 1940 this 23 percent of our population got less than 7 percent, counting all federal payments. If corn, livestock and dairy farmers now stand to benefit from increased domestic buying, cotton, wheat and tobacco producers cannot hope to compensate internally for the foreign markets lost in the war. A five-foot mower which cost $48 before the last war now sells for just twice that, and the price is going up rather than down. The farmer would prefer a sane world of foreign markets and no monopolies. Since he can't get it, he will take loans.

The first farm bill of 1941 makes no provision for parity or soil-conservation payments. If both of these are maintained at the present rate, the wheat farmer in 1942 can probably depend upon something like parity prices. In return, he will have to manipulate his production in the national interest and conserve his land for the benefit of posterity. The theory of parity payments is that they compensate the farmer for what he loses through tariff subsidies to American industry. Soil conservation is a job which makes little difference to the income of the present-generation farmer, and one which cannot be left to individual initiative any more than can reforestation. Finally, the ever normal granary is not only a way of helping the farmer but a guarantee against starvation. There are some valid objections to our present farm program, but until a better plan is suggested we can see none at all to making this one work well.

[1] The New York Times, one of the worst and most provincial offenders in the current campaign, seemed aghast that "the loan rate (on cotton) was actually nearly a cent a pound higher than the market." It is not unusual, of course, for market prices to be below loan rates, as The Times could learn by consulting its own financial pages. The Times's editorial also solemnly declared that if the government paid a fixed subsidy "per bushel or pound" it "would at least know in advance what its program was going to cost it." This foreknowledge would presumably be based on "The New York Times Farmers' Almanac and Handy Price, Acreage, Fertility, Rainfall, Wind, Hail, Grasshopper, Boll Weevil and Chinch Bug Forecaster."

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, MALCOLM COWLEY, GEORGE SOULE, STARK YOUNG; *Washington Editor:* MICHAEL STRAIGHT; *Treasurer:* DANIEL MEBANE; *Assistant Editors:* NIGEL DENNIS, BYRON DEXTER, OTIS FERGUSON, ELIZABETH HULING; *Contributing Editors:* H. N. BRAILSFORD, VAN WYCK BROOKS, JULIAN HUXLEY, MAX LERNER, E. C. LINDEMAN, R. G. TUGWELL; *Advertising Manager:* E. G. WOOD

SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR

EDITED AND PRODUCED UNDER UNION CONDITIONS BY CONTRACT WITH THE BOOK AND MAGAZINE GUILD, LOCAL 18, UOPWA, CIO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Comes After the War?

THIS MAY SEEM the worst possible moment in which to discuss the post-war world on the assumption of a victory for the democracies. For one thing, all signs at the moment seem to point to a long conflict. For another, Hitler's recent successes, and the apparent imminence of his attack on Suez, may make some people feel that talk of an Allied victory should be postponed until its chances are a little brighter. We disagree with those who hold this view. First, we are convinced that whatever the situation of the present or the immediate future, there is an excellent chance that the war will end in a German defeat; and second, consideration of the kind of world we hope to make after the war is an important part of the conflict itself.

For it is now clear that our old world wasn't good enough. One important reason for Hitler's success thus far has been that he capitalized upon the weaknesses which, in varying degrees at different times and places, have characterized our society in the past—our mistakes, our inequalities, our selfishness and the fears which have so often lain behind the selfishness. His alternatives were not good ones; in most cases his cure or pretended cure is worse than the disease. Nevertheless it is now certain that after his immediate menace is out of the way (and during the process of getting rid of it) we must set our own house in order. As long as we fail to do so, or make progress too slowly, we shall continue to run the risk that some ambitious gangster politician will come to power in one country or another on a platform which says that our democratic society is dying and deserves to do so, because it does not solve the problems of mankind, as does the "new order"—whatever that new order happens to be.

Even if we assume a democratic victory, no one knows how the war will end. It might do so slowly, with the fighting coming to a close separately on various fronts. If so, this would be a new type of situation about which it is difficult to predict. On the other hand, the struggle might end suddenly as did the Great War. If this happened, it would mean an economic dislocation almost on the order of the physical destruction when an automobile crashes into a brick wall at high speed. At present, the index of physical production in the United States is already higher than in 1929 and is going higher still; but a disturbingly large proportion of it is either in defense industries or in others that are stimulated by this activity. To be sure, it is probable that a good deal of this work would continue; it is hard to visualize any post-war world, even if Hitler were defeated, which would be enthusiastic about immediate substantial disarmament. The guess has been made that even after the war we might continue to spend perhaps six billions a year on defense projects of various sorts. But this figure should be put beside one of seventeen billions being spent this year, and more than thirty-five billions appropriated by Congress for defense within the past few months (not all, of course, to be used up within one year). Even to cut down from seventeen billions to six would mean tremendous distress and a downward spiral which would be difficult to check.

After the war, not only will government spending on a huge scale be required for several years at the very least, but we shall need the closest possible coördination among the activities of government, industry and finance—as close as during the period of the national emergency or of war. There will be four great areas for this coördinated activity: the production of consumers' goods at home, public works at home, consumers' goods for other parts of the world and public works in these foreign areas. A proper proportion of our effort must be allocated to each of these areas of enterprise. It is urgently necessary that, so far as possible, plans should be prepared in advance so that they can be put into operation with the utmost rapidity. They will involve public works and contracts to private industry which, at the beginning at any rate, will be of a size never before known in peacetime. Public works cannot be improvised after the crisis is upon us. Both these works and the orders to private industry need long and careful planning. Already, the government is doing some work of this character; but the feeling is strong among those who are familiar with it that not enough is being planned and that the attention this subject is receiving is far less than is desirable. It is easy to understand why this should be so. The energies of high government officials are at present directed toward a maximum national-defense effort, and maximum aid to Britain, in the shortest possible time, and it is hard to do two things at once. Nevertheless, it is imperative that we should somehow manage to perform this difficult feat. We are not so short of public officials of outstanding ability that we could not detach at least a few of them to work on this problem; every intelligently conducted private business is already doing so.

What sort of public works will serve best to cushion the shock of economic demobilization? They cannot be discussed in detail in an article like this, which is intended only to be a summary of some of the points that need consideration. Two great fields of expenditure, however, will suggest themselves to everyone.

The first is housing, in its broadest sense, which includes not only living quarters but office, store and factory space as well, and should comprise in each case

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not merely four walls and a roof but planned surroundings ranging all the way from immediate provisions for landscape architecture to area and community plans. The most urgent aspect of course is better homes for the poor; we have the testimony of independent experts with practically worldwide experience that the United States lags behind every other great industrialized nation in the quality of housing available for the mass of its lower-income citizens. Millions of houses in this country are unfit for human habitation and yet are being used. It has been estimated that we could invest fifty billions in housing over a few years and get a valuable social and economic return. Hitherto, private capital has been unable to fill this gap, partly because of the vast sums involved and partly because of the social tradition that the poor should dwell in the cast-off houses of those with larger incomes.

A second great field of expenditure is for transportation of all types, including highways, railways and water carriers of every sort. Our railways are badly planned, from the strategic point of view, with too many lines needlessly competing in certain parts of the country and too few in others. Even those that are properly placed are in some instances underequipped or with rolling stock already obsolescent. Unrestricted operation of private industrial enterprise has not always made the proper amount of use of rivers, canals and coastal shipping. Our national-defense effort is being severely handicapped because we did not have sufficient foresight to build a network of super highways over the country. To rebuild our main roads for the type and quality of traffic of today would cost perhaps fifteen billion dollars and would be a richly rewarding enterprise. It goes without saying that we cannot rebuild our communities as we should unless we rebuild our transportation system as well.

Another great public activity after the war, whether we want it or not, will be the reconstitution of a shattered Europe. The destruction has been universal; not only homes must be rebuilt but factories, shops, offices, entire communities. This tremendous task must be done at top speed if millions of people are to be rescued from complete collapse and loss of morale. It is difficult to realize the amount of damage that bombs have done in the cities. It has been worked out that in Warsaw, for example, each ton of bombs on the average did damage of $128,000. The buildings destroyed alone had a value of roughly $460,000,000—and Warsaw was neither very rich nor very large.

The industry of Poland, and to a large extent that of other countries occupied by Germany, has been obliterated; in some areas practically all factories and especially those making war materials of any sort, have been picked up bodily and transported to the Reich. When the war ends, there will be millions of people in urgent need of food, clothing, shelter and employment. It seems unlikely that private capitalism alone can meet this burden, and especially in view of the restrictions upon it which already exist in many countries and are likely to grow more and not less severe. The governments of the European nations will not be able to meet it: their resources are already exhausted, and they cannot levy taxes until the people are able to work and create incomes on which to be taxed.

The United States, assuming that it escapes the worst of the ravages of war, will thereupon be faced by a difficult decision. Are we willing to see the suffering continued indefinitely, or shall we expand our post-war public-works program to include investments in the rescuing of Europe, as priming of the pump and as an insurance policy for the future against the insecurity which helps to lead to war? We shall do well to remember not only the dictates of the humanitarian impulse to which this country has so often responded in the past, but some other considerations as well. One of these is that Europe in normal times has been by far the best customer for our own exports. Another is that there is no hope of permanent peace while great masses of individuals are deprived of even the minimum elements of a good life. The world tried that experiment once, during the 1920's, when it let Poincaré and his group wreak their vengeance upon a defeated Germany.

Assuming that the American people are able to pass successfully the first great hurdle of post-war economic demobilization, there are other pressing questions that they must solve. We are now a creditor nation, whether we like it or not, and we must alter our old habits of mind based on the fact that for generations, before 1914, we were a debtor country. We must decide whether we want a monetary concept to dominate (under which we try to get more than we give) or a trade concept, based upon fair exchange and mutual interest. Shall we think in terms of needs and supplying needs—our own and others'—or in terms of monetary rates and gold balances? On the question of foreign trade, we must decide whether we want to shut out all imports except whisky and gold, rubber and tin, coffee, cocoa and a few other items, or wish to find out what other commodities our people might desire to consume without endangering the industries natural to our continent.

The charge is often made that America is a high-cost country and that we cannot compete with low-cost labor abroad. This is based on the fact that the American workingman enjoys very nearly the highest standard of living in the world. But high wages do not necessarily mean high costs; they may be accompanied by such efficiency in production that unit costs are low. Low wages abroad mean low standards of living abroad, which means a lessened market for our goods. It is therefore decidedly to our advantage to help bring up the standard of living throughout the world.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The leading authorities in this field seem agreed that whatever happens, we are not likely to go back to the pre-1914 world or even the pre-1929 one. Mr. Willkie and the other nostalgic Americans who are dreaming of a return to comparatively unrestricted private enterprise, regulated by sharp competition in the smaller units and benevolent understandings in the larger ones, might as well wake up. Though there is still plenty of room for all sorts of private and coöperative enterprises, every sign points to an increasing degree of government control, in this country and throughout the world. This is not due to the wicked machinations of a group of perverse individuals, such as the New Dealers in America, or the Labor Party members in England, or the Popular Fronters in France, and so on. It is due to the fact that the times have changed. In the post-war world, the relations between private business and government will need to be more carefully thought out and codified than they have been in the past. It is necessary to decide what are the legitimate fields for private enterprise, for government activity and for the two in coöperation. Business ought to say what degree and what kind of coöperation with the government and government agencies it pictures. Government on the other hand ought to indicate what sort of charter it is prepared to give to private enterprise.

It is imperative that economic relationships should be on a basis of intelligent planning in regard to raw materials, advantageous localities for fabrication and consumers' needs. It is imperative that international currencies should be stabilized and made exchangeable with one another, not to suit the needs of petty nationalism, whether political or economic, but to support an international structure of peace and order. The world's gold supply—if we are to continue to base our currencies on this metal—must not be hoarded in any country, but should flow as freely as is necessary to lubricate the wheels of commerce. It might be desirable, for example, to keep the American dollar at a fairly high level, while for a time permitting other nations to depreciate their currencies in an orderly and uniform fashion, and to a predetermined degree. This would not only draw our gold out of the country but also bring foreign trade in, both developments probably desirable. But details of this sort are less important than are the principles that we have painfully learned (or should have learned) in the past quarter-century. These principles are that part of the world cannot prosper while the rest suffers; that part of a nation cannot prosper while the rest suffers; that, in other words, there is no real security on a partial basis either horizontally among nations or vertically within any one of them.

We have spoken in this article of the immediate post-war problems by which America will be confronted. But beyond these, there are things we can do, if we wish to, to bring the standards of our civilization higher than they have ever been. Some of them will be discussed in a subsequent article in this series, to be published at an early date.

This is the fourth of a series of articles discussing various phases of the war situation and post-war possibilities. Earlier articles, "Standards of Living and of Life," "The Alternative to Fascism" and "Ground Plan for a Post-War World," appeared in our issues of December 9 and 23 and February 3. — THE EDITORS

Paris, Germany

MY LAST MEMORY OF PARIS is a sandwich-man walking dull-eyed down the Boulevard St. Germain, offering the treasures of his city in a foreign tongue:

Paris Bleibt Immer Paris!
Dank Gipsy's
6, Rue Cujas
"Paris Bleibt Immer Paris"
Mit Den Zwölf Nackten Schönheiten

Children grow thin, and the poor starve, and people no longer smile in the streets, but the sandwich-man is no liar; the Paris he offers is what it always has been, a gay city for sightseers. The sightseers are the German army, marched through regiment after regiment for a few proud days of high-pressure visiting. They file past all the monuments, untouched by the war and cleared of sandbags for the special benefit of these tourists. They see the Unknown Soldier and the Eiffel Tower; they buy pornographic postcards; they get drunk in the night clubs and sing bawdy songs; they carry off all the available candy, silk stockings, fur coats and jewelry. They get free subway rides and free hotel rooms, and though curfew is at midnight they can carouse until dawn.

It is remarkable how quickly the Germans fitted into Paris. Perhaps it is because they came in while three-fourths of the population was away on what is called last summer's vacation. When one came back, there were the Germans, sitting in the sidewalk cafés and ogling the girls like the oldest inhabitants. It was strange to see these handsome efficient young men, obviously moved by a high ideal, confident of immediate victory, when one remembered the broken ragged columns of French soldiers tramping the forlorn highways of the great retreat.

But victory was not immediate, and the high ideals have turned to cold plunder. Why, they're just human

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beings like the rest of us, was the watchword in the summer. But by winter it was considered bad taste for a lady to accept a seat offered by a German soldier. This generally does not apply to the rich, among whom Nazi propaganda has made great headway. It is not yet good form to match heiresses to German officers, but they make charming company at, say, Maxim's, and they are indispensable at fox-hunts. In polite conversation, it is axiomatic that France is decadent and corrupt, and must be purified by suffering, like Germany after 1918.

For all their metaphysics, the French Nazis have a keen eye for good jobs. With all the former leaders of opinion silent or in exile at Vichy, careers are indeed open to the talents. Minor propagandists and frustrated politicians like Déat and de Brinon have become master engineers of the integration of France into the New Order, and are paid and respected accordingly. Of course they are called traitors and threatened with hanging the day France is free; this enables them to pass as heroes among their friends. But everybody in France is called a traitor by somebody else. The political parties, theoretically discredited and dissolved, are as active and grasping as ever. It is notorious that the "national revolution" of Vichy has produced more intrigue, more governmental crises and more outright corruption than the Third Republic in its heyday.

With the exception of General de Gaulle, no new personality has appeared since the invasion. The defeat and the armistice have done little more than turn one gang out and put another in. The ideas and the vituperation and even the names of the leaders have hardly changed since 1871. For generations France has been crying for something new; and the same old warhorses have come eagerly trotting out, Laval and Léon Blum and Flandin and Daladier, each heralded on his successive returns to power as the genuine Man who would reëstablish the power and dignity of the nation, at small cost to the taxpayers. Times have changed; but not one of these men, in prison or out, nor any other Frenchman for that matter, has changed his mind about anything in the last twelve months. Ask anyone, Why was France beaten? He will reply, France was not beaten, France was betrayed. Well, who betrayed France? Why, the Jews, or the priests, or the generals, or the communists, or the international bankers, or the advocates of birth control—precisely the people I have declaimed against all my life. Well, what is the way out? Why, the Church (or the Popular Front, the corporative state, prohibition, an alliance with Russia, a return to the soil). And the war? Why, the war proves conclusively I am right.

But the old divisions disappear in the face of the great problem: the national policy toward Germany. At least until last week, there were three possible policies: collaboration, dignity and revolt, each of them drawing its adherents from all parties. The collaborationists include the ex-fifth column, the exiguous fascist groups of Doriot and others, the left (or right) wing Socialists who see no difference between Hitler and Stresemann, and in general all those people who are sure that Germany is going to win and must be cajoled into granting favorable terms. Naturally the Paris radio and the press are violently on this side, and they make a certain number of converts. Of course if M. de Gaulle should come riding down the Champs Elysées, everyone would run out to cheer him. But M. de Gaulle is far away, and the Germans are continually marching up and down the streets, singing *O Deutschland, o das schöne Land;* so the collaborationists stick uneasily to their guns.

Somewhat less timorous are the supporters of the policy known as Dignity. Dignity means looking with equal coldness on the Germans and the English, and avoiding all positive action. This is the attitude of certain would-be Talleyrands in the Vichy government, who are thinking of picking up some crumbs at a future Congress of Vienna. In the meantime they believe France should become a conservative fascist state like Portugal. Their spiritual director is Charles Maurras, who, though he has not changed one jot from the basic principle of his foreign policy—the division of Germany into her original three hundred-odd principalities—recommends at present that France rediscover her internal unity and present to the world an attitude of firm independence.

Surprisingly enough, this attitude of firm independence is precisely what the Communist Party wants too. This organization, in the course of its ideological wanderings, has come temporarily to rest in a hysterical chauvinism reminiscent of 1938, when it was demanding a war *pour l'honneur*. It denounces equally England, Germany and Vichy, and calls for a revival of the spirit of Joan of Arc and Louis XIV. It is in favor of a united front of workers, peasants, youths, liberals and Catholics, to drive out the capitalists and their fascist mercenaries and make France free. It hints that if its policy had been followed, the war would not have been lost. The party has lost much of its popular support, but despite thousands of arrests its framework is unshaken.

The third and by far the most popular policy is to obstruct the Germans and support the English, at least with good wishes. Despite radio, press, posters and the example of German successes, faith in England has risen steadily from the beginning of the occupation. It is strongest among the poor, who have the most need of a savior, but it is shared by all classes and by all parties. Everybody who has a radio listens to London, if only to find out what is going on behind the thick wall of censorship—the same motive that drove people to listen to Stuttgart in the first year of the war. The news is highly colored by emotional speakers, who exaggerate at will, but not so much as the people who listen to them. The first time I heard about the British operations at Taranto was when one of my cousins came

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

running into the house crying, *"Ils ont coulé quarante bateaux!"* More modest authorities claimed twenty-four.

The Germans have attempted to exploit popular gullibility by spreading false predictions. Thus, in September, they dropped tracts on Paris signed "Churchill" promising deliverance in three months. The end of the three months was about Christmas time, and certain soothsayers had predicted that there would be no more Germans in Paris by Christmas. There was much disappointment when the holiday went quietly by, but the Germans gained nothing by it. The soothsayers explained they had really meant Easter.

Somehow, out of the blackness of their lot, the French have conjured up a new spirit. Morale is higher than it was a year ago. Then, though it was common knowledge that the Maginot Line was impregnable and that Germany was on the verge of revolt, the people knew, with its own deep knowledge, that the war was lost, that at the first gun the whole proud fabric of their country would fall apart. All through May and June, everywhere in France were the same nervous faces, the same hypocritical assurance, *on les aura*, the same sure dread at heart. Now the surmised disaster has become fact. But out of defeat and spoliation has grown a new confidence.

What good are confidence and patriotism a year too late? Then the French would not fight, but now they will not accept the consequences of defeat. So they are told every day by their masters and their masters' servants, by M. Abel Bonnard de l'Académie Française and M. Bernard Fay and all the other pompous charlatans who have assumed the role of great writers for a totalitarian France. Their appeals for collaboration are no more heeded than were a year ago those of MM. Giraudoux and Jules Romains in favor of Daladier and Latin civilization. After eleven months no serious French fascist party has arisen; there have been no pogroms; not one of the elaborate German gestures of good will (like the return of l'Aiglon and the "gift" of 100,000 rotten potatoes) has evoked the gratitude of the people.

The Germans are getting impatient. After all, no law of nature requires them to be eternally polite. If the French don't loot Jewish stores, the Germans will confiscate them. If they insult the German army they will be fined, 200,000 francs per insult. If they cut telephone wires, they will stand guard all night in the forest. If they show too much sympathy for England, they will starve.

Technically, nobody has yet died of starvation. There is always something to eat, even if it is only rutabagas. The longest queues are for coffee and chocolate. But only the Germans and the very rich get enough to eat; and next winter there will be less. Last Christmas the army of occupation took all the stocks of meat for its celebrations and left Paris without meat for two weeks, undoing six months' work of blandishment.

That long snow-filled fortnight ushered in the bitterest winter of French history. Out of suffering and humiliation will come redemption, says the Marshal, who is listened to with more respect than belief. Now the winter is at last gone and there are a few green vegetables in the markets, but spring has brought no real change. Paris is still hungry, jokes about the conqueror and puts wild hope in the future. There is no movement and no plan; little idea of the cost of victory, no idea of the consequences. If victory is late in coming, or does not come at all, there will be disorganization and despair, and the Nazis will batter France into the mold they want. But the war is still in the balance, and not now or next month or next year can one make up his mind. With the infinite caution of the bourgeois one waits and hopes. "It's a fine day, sir," said my concierge one morning, "but a finer one will be the day of our liberation." And she looked symbolically to the west, whence come comfort and the hope of human freedom.

PHILIP BREWSTER

The Invasion of Greece

The Emigrants Speak of Their Homeland

That night, letting lie the copper kettle, she was saying:
"My brothers, oh my brothers, they were sweet singers."
The copper kettle worn sea-green blue now with waiting
The heap of many-colored clothes, half a century of serving
The beloved, the children. Over the steaming stove remembrance
Of brothers singing in Hellenic spring.

That night he spoke, his face a strict rapture
Of recollection: "March to May. Oh, Maytime in my country
In early morning with a loaf, with a small cheese safe in the pocket.
Bend down in Maytime to the pebbled waters
And drink, drink sweet. Now sorrow that my mother,
My mother died alone. And I did not return."

Words, words like singing, like waters urging,
Like circled dances in that clearest air:
"And now my brother's son, he is an airman.
All Hellas knows his name." Strong faces glow,
The straight backs straighten, for the son of the sweet singer
Grown wings, grown glory flown in a Grecian sky.

Do you know Olympia? Do you know Delphi?
Have you heard the old man telling of Odysseus,
The young man tell of Oedipus of Thebes?
Here in chairs by the shining stove with fragrance
Of oil and honey. Words with the rhythm of dancing,
Immortal Hellas in their long remembrance.

Bring, bring again the circling dances on the grass,
Bring morning's May in Lacedemon's mountains,
Run sweet the waters in a Delphic spring.
Can Theban words strike down the Sphinx oppression?
Remembrance save us, save the words like waters
Cleansing our hearts of fear—fear of birds in the sky.

JEREMY INGALLS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Who Caused the Aluminum Shortage?

WASHINGTON TODAY is a city of many dangers and of great promise. One of the most promising developments is the rise of the Senate Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program under the liberal leadership of Senator Truman. Already the committee has analyzed the blunders of the army-cantonment program, and in three days of dramatic testimony last week it uncovered the most explosive situation in Washington—the present severe shortage of aluminum and the part played in this shortage by the Aluminum Company of America and its friends in the OPM.

The Aluminum Company of America came to Washington grizzled by a two-year-old battle with the Department of Justice. Its senior vice-president accused the Truman committee of "biting at the heels of those who were trying to do something." But the committee was not convinced that the Aluminum Company—Alcoa—was trying to do anything but perpetuate its own monopoly, and when the senior vice-president left, he trailed one foot behind him—stuck in Alcoa's grave.

The testimony before the Truman committee proved that Alcoa had failed to respond to defense needs and that the Raw Materials Division of the National Defense Advisory Commission, which is now reorganized under the OPM, had for six months concealed its failure from the American people.

After six months of complacent and misleading statements from the Raw Materials Division, the first honest admission of the aluminum shortage was made in the testimony of William L. Batt, deputy director of the OPM and onetime railway worker, who again proved himself to be one of the few courageous and farsighted industrialists who have come to Washington.

In the following testimony Batt indicated to Hugh Fulton, general counsel of the Truman committee, how serious the present shortage of aluminum is:

MR. BATT: If all the scrap comes back into the market, we will have just enough aluminum for our aircraft and direct military requirements, and no aluminum for civilians.

MR. FULTON: Or for indirect military requirements.

MR. BATT: Precisely.

"Indirect military requirements" include the important needs of the steel industry for aluminum used in the manufacture of certain high-grade steel. There is not even enough aluminum in America for the barest military necessities today.

Richard Reynolds, president of an independent company which today is undertaking to produce aluminum, testified that in May, 1940, he went to the chairman of the board of directors of Alcoa and speaking as a fabricator of finished aluminum products, registered his alarm over the shortage of aluminum. The chairman, Reynolds testified, "expressed himself that I was unnecessarily alarmed . . . and that there would be no shortage." This boastful and complacent attitude was maintained by Alcoa throughout the summer of 1940, although its capacity was less than a third of the rapidly growing capacity of Germany.

Fortunately for the defense program, Reynolds went to the RFC and obtained on August 14 a $15,000,000 loan to construct a plant. He obtained his loan in spite of Alcoa and the NDAC.

Information in the possession of the Truman committee proves that as soon as Alcoa learned of Reynolds' plan, its representatives lobbied in the NDAC, arguing that no increase in aluminum production was necessary. In the NDAC the subordinate of Commissioner Stettinius in charge of aluminum in the Raw Materials Division was Marion Folsom, dollar-a-year administrator and treasurer of the Eastman Kodak Company, a prominent customer of Alcoa. Mr. Folsom, who solemnly swore before the Truman committee to tell the whole truth, did not tell the whole truth. He did not tell the committee that he did everything within his power to prevent the RFC's granting a loan to the Reynolds Company, even going to the length of informing the RFC that if the loan were made, it would be without the approval or sanction of the NDAC. This was confirmed by Reynolds in his testimony.

Soon after the RFC loan was granted to the Reynolds Company, the case of the Department of Justice against Alcoa was concluded. Instantly Alcoa cut the supplies of aluminum to the Reynolds Company by 50 percent. This also was confirmed by Reynolds.

Did Marion Folsom know about this? He said that he wasn't sure. Did he do anything about it? Not for some time. Later, in the testimony of Grenville Holden, Folsom's immediate subordinate, who came also from the Eastman Kodak Company, Fulton confronted Holden with a letter he had drafted to be signed by a superior and sent to the RFC. It requested that a large grant of Bonneville Electric Power, vital in the production of aluminum, be taken from the Reynolds Company, to whom it had been allocated, and given to Alcoa. Holden's defense was remarkable for one who has constantly supplied Stettinius with misleading statistics about ample supplies of aluminum. His job, he said, was to see that aluminum was produced. But Senator Mead accused him of "discriminating in favor of the Aluminum Company." "The record indicates," Mead told Holden, "that you leaned too heavily on the Aluminum Company of America and that you offered little or no encouragement to competing organizations."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the autumn of 1939 the thirty-year-old monopoly of the Aluminum Company was seriously threatened. Five billion kilowatts were needed to produce the 500,000,000 pounds of additional annual aluminum production that the defense program would soon be demanding. But Alcoa had failed completely to develop the power resources to which it had obtained title principally in order to prevent competition. Its sole hope lay in obtaining power from the TVA, Bonneville and Grand Coulee. But David E. Lilienthal, Harold Ickes and Leland Olds were not so warm-hearted toward Alcoa as the Eastman Kodak Company.

It was essential for Alcoa both to force through large government contracts and to prevent any competitors from obtaining a foohold in aluminum until Alcoa had cornered all available government power.

Folsom undertook to assist Alcoa. In the summer and autumn of 1940 contracts were drawn up between the government and Alcoa and were forced through by Knudsen, often in spite of the protest of other government departments. Alcoa, while developing one meager project of its own, attained enough government power to more than double the capacity which it had taken forty years to create. Even this increase was only a beginning, in terms of requirements.

Was it in order to aid Alcoa through a difficult time that a series of releases were issued by Stettinius which completely concealed the true situation from the American people? Beginning in November, releases were issued insisting that there was ample aluminum for civilian supplies. They continued up to a few weeks before the drastic priorities order of March 21 by which some civilian supplies were cut to 10 percent of 1940 levels. Even in the administration of priorities, the Truman committee charged, favoritism was shown to Alcoa and the predominant industrial interests within the OPM. It is impossible to assume that the Raw Materials Division did not know during this time that contracts were being broken and deliveries refused by Alcoa while the breadline of civilian producers grew longer.

Why were Folsom's estimates of aluminum requirements so terribly low? Principally because Folsom and Holden accepted without question Alcoa's estimate of the aluminum required in aircraft, and its further estimate that reserves were necessary for only two months ahead, when the actual need was for eight months' reserve. Most serious of all, Folsom refused at any time to look ahead and estimate future requirements, when everyone but the members of the Raw Materials Division knew that military and British requirements of aluminum were bound to increase.

The most startling evidence of Alcoa's unwillingness to coöperate in defense, and of the OPM's complicity with Alcoa, was given in the testimony concerning the project at Fontana. The Fontana Dam site, on the Little Tennessee, was held by Alcoa because of its desire, as Lelands Olds expressed it, "to squat on water-power sites . . . in order to prevent other companies from developing the power." In the autumn of 1940 Alcoa filed with the Federal Power Commission a declaration of intent to develop the Fontana project. The FPC replied that it was powerless to permit the development unless a license was obtained in accordance with the provisions passed by Congress in the Federal Power Act. These provisions provided that the project would be recapturable by the government after fifty years upon full payment of the net investment involved. Alcoa flatly refused to develop the project under the regulations passed by Congress, but it did not give up the development. Holden confessed during his testimony that he had discussed with Oscar Ewing, an attorney for Alcoa, the possibility that the War Department might construct the project for Alcoa. On February 21, 1941, Ewing wrote to Olds at the Federal Power Commission a letter which actually threatened the Commission in these words:

> I have had conferences with representatives of RFC and OPM. If TVA does not want to proceed with the construction of Fontana, then Mr. Holden of OPM is prepared to recommend that the project be built by the War Department and leased to the Aluminum Company, or a subsidiary, for the usual five-year period, with an option on the part of the lessee to purchase the plant.

The inclusion in this agreement of the option clause by which Alcoa, after profiting through the use of the plant without assuming any risk, could then buy the plant at the end of a period of rising prices, incensed the Senators. That a member of the OPM could be a party to such an agreement was even more alarming. Holden's suggestion that Ewing might have misunderstood him was rejected by the committee.

These hearings are a clear and urgent warning that we can no longer afford to tolerate the restrictive control of a vital defense industry, either from within the OPM or from the industry itself. The Raw Materials Division was created for one purpose only: to ensure that at all times there will be an adequate supply of essential raw materials for military and, if possible, for civilian requirements. That purpose was obvious in June, when the division was organized, but the one thing the division has not done has been to obtain an ample supply of aluminum.

We must determine now what the future of Alcoa is to be. In his vigorous testimony Batt asserted that the level of aluminum production which is planned by the OPM is 1,400,000,000 pounds per year, the level advocated by The New Republic three months ago. Two billion pounds was mentioned as a possible level of production by Batt. This means a certain increase of 400,000,000 pounds of aluminum capacity, a possible increase of 1,200,000,000 pounds. Is this new production to be Alcoa's, or not?

Fortune in a recent article expresses confidence that the increase will go to Alcoa. Then when the war is over, Alcoa will control production; its plants will

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have been paid for by the government, its competitors will have been finally discouraged, and since there will be no fixed charges to pay, Alcoa will be able to return to the old policy of low production and high prices. Fortune's language, of course, is more polite.

The alternative is that the government should own and operate the new plants.

From the economic standpoint government ownership is the only logical solution. Seventy-six percent of Alcoa's increased production since 1939 has been based on government power. Power costs alone amount to more than three cents of the total cost of ten cents of producing aluminum from the ground up. Why should Alcoa sell to the government at 17 cents a pound—the price which it has fixed—aluminum produced with the aid of the government's own cheap power supply? At this rate, in seven months Alcoa can clear the entire cost of an aluminum plant at Grand Coulee. The rest of the life of a plant would yield sheer profit. More important, when planes are vital to us, and aluminum is nine-tenths of every plane, we cannot rely on the whims of a monopoly as selfish and shortsighted as Alcoa has proved itself to be.

Richard Reynolds told the Truman committee that an aluminum plant is like a cement plant. It takes six months to master the technique of production. Reynolds has already offered to buy from the government, or to turn over to the government, the additional 200,000,000 pounds of capacity which he is prepared to build.

Among members of the Truman committee and in the government the feeling is growing that the new aluminum plants should be government plants. Perhaps the senior vice-president of Alcoa foresaw this just and appropriate development when he confided to the Truman committee that "We are frantic at the Aluminum Company."

They ought to be.

Washington MICHAEL STRAIGHT

More Notes on Human Nature

IN OFFERING a few more of Allston's notes on human nature, I do not insist that they are profound. But that Allston enjoyed the profundities of others, and even their mock-profundities, one gathers from the following observations:

A man who has the courage of his platitudes is always a successful man. The instructed man is ashamed to pronounce in an orphic manner what everybody knows, and from his silence people think that he is making fun of them. They like a man who expresses their own superficial thoughts in a manner that appears to be profound. This enables them to believe that they are themselves profound.

I am always impressed by people who give themselves out as persons of large importance. At least in this regard, the serpent of doubt entered my garden only when I had reached years of discretion. Judging by the mask and gown, the beetling brow, the gesture of command, I used to imagine that I had met a dozen Dantes and Beethovens.

In later years, I found that genius and virtue more often clothe themselves in a mouselike garb than in the splendid feathers of dodos and peacocks. They follow in this the law of protective coloration, which is based upon another law, that of the conservation of energy. It takes a great deal of energy to maintain an appearance of greatness, more than the really great are able to spare.

An evening with several eminent men of law. They began to speak of literature, in all amiability, and then what a pulling out of chestnuts, fossilized for ages in the legal mind, half the familiar quotations in Bartlett, chiefly from Pope, and the question rose, Who wrote Junius? It was evident that one and all were talking as they thought lawyers ought to talk, that they were following the well known pattern of the learned judge unbending. What children are these great men, so exactly living up to the parts that conventional public opinion expects them to play.

In "Fors Clavigera," Ruskin relents toward lawyers enough to admit them to a "dignified almshouse," because they are picturesque—"for the sake of their wigs." I should preserve them for another reason, also one that springs from a love of the past. For as long as lawyers exist, Bartlett's familiar quotations will never be unfamiliar.

These notes apparently deal with lady-interviewers:

She makes me feel like a syringa-blossom—she being the humming-bird. I can feel her little brain revolve and vibrate, whirring at such a rate that it makes me dizzy, while the proboscis fathoms me, all to extract a drop of honey.

She has seen everything and met everybody, and she cannot understand why I do not wish to see her. She has all the latest news from behind the scenes. She has just spent an evening at the White House, and Hitler has told her all his secrets. She has such remarkable things to say, as that Hitler in his heart loves the Jews, that Mussolini has only the kindest intentions, and that the next war is going to start from a difference of opinion in the Andes. It is all new and exciting, and everything is different from what one supposed, just as reality always is. And yet I am not consumed with a passion to meet her.

But has she really seen things, or has she perhaps seen nothing? How these awfully knowing people abound! The lady neglects to consider one fact, which is that the value of reflections depends upon the quality of the mirror. A looking-glass walking down the road was Stendhal's definition of a story-teller, and the world at present is full of looking-glasses. Then why is the world so unfamiliar with its own features? It is because most of the looking-glasses come from Mr. Woolworth's basement.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I add a longer passage about "these awfully knowing people":

You do not know, I do not know. This is the only attitude to assume in the presence of the "knowing" political prophets. I soon saw at Washington, last year, that most of the officials did not know what was going to happen, in Germany or Italy or Japan, and that those who really knew the most knew that they did not know. It was all a matter of "feeling," and the people who "feel," in regard to these events, are very seldom those who are "in the know." The only invincible ignorance is knowingness, which always deceives the simple. When, for a dozen years, we have watched our favorite political prophet, whoever he may be, predicting revolutions that do not occur, and failing to predict revolutions that do—as I saw in the case of my own chosen prophet, a very knowing man, whom I took for gospel years ago—we end by ceasing to read them. (I do not refer to the commentators, John Gunther, Vincent Sheean and others, who have added a third dimension to political reporting.) The feeling life is the only one that matters, and, when it comes to the movements of peoples, it is the old women who know, not the brilliant publicists, with their bright and shining information. That is why Napoleon resorted to the soothsayers, as the German and Austrian emperors, before the war, consulted Madame Sylvia, if that was her name.

Am I attacking the intelligence? Only when it is used improperly. Its proper use is to solve solvable questions, on a basis of known data. But the great questions of life can seldom be approached in this fashion. Those who pursue life in a straight line, as if it were a game of chess, pay a heavy price for their nonchalance. They lose the use of their perceptions, which are chiefly active when the intelligence is in abeyance. For the feeling men, the brooding men, life is a tragi-comedy, not a game. Men of this type are always guessing. The intelligent men disdain to guess. They base their predictions on evidence. But as the elements of the evidence are largely emotional elements, their predictions are usually wrong, while the guesses of the others are often right. One can be weather-wise about human questions, as well as about the crops and the snow storms.

Here are three notes about young men:

J. C. tells me about the brilliant young men at Princeton, and I remember T.'s account of the young men of his day. They were all going to reform the country, and now they are clipping coupons in their fathers' offices. "These matters are delightfully uncertain," as Hawthorne says, in "The House of the Seven Gables." "At almost every step in life, we meet with young men of just about Holgrave's age, for whom we anticipate wonderful things, but of whom, even after much and careful enquiry, we never happen to hear another word. The effervescence of youth and passion, and the fresh gloss of the intellect and imagination, endow them with a false brilliancy, which makes fools of themselves and other people. Like certain chintzes, calicos and ginghams, they show finely in their first newness, but cannot stand the sun and rain, and assume a very sober aspect after washing-day."

Eugène Delacroix, in his journal, says of his young friend Riesener, "He is lost. He is beginning to say, 'It's too late now,' like all the lazy men who have forever been saying with assurance, 'I have plenty of time.'"

Do not flatter yourself that by mere inertia you can sink to the lower depths. A well organized person has to work, to sink as well as to rise, for he has to violate all manner of instincts which it is easier to satisfy. The line of least resistance is to float, on the level where one was born, like a large inexpensive cake of soap.

The following are more general:

To "have a good time" is the sole object of life for untold thousands of our country people. I sympathize with this ideal in people who are born for it, but I think they are rare. However, I know a few who have a real vocation for it. Nature intended them to have a good time, and one feels they ought to have it; and, when they fail to have it, when circumstances turn against them, one feels a desolation in the general air. It is just as K. says about the Negroes, who enjoy their clothes and finery so much. When I see a young Negro in a brand-new spring suit, with a bright new necktie and a flower in his buttonhole, I feel as if every one of them should have an annual dividend to carry out this obvious intention of nature. But Negroes, in this particular, are especially blest—they outnumber other people as ten to one. In general, I believe in supporting all vocations, knowing how rare and special they are. The vocation for a "good time" is just as rare as any other.

There is nothing to which a woman will not descend if she has a blind husband, two rickety children and an ailing mother without an income. Perhaps this explains why "pulp novels" can be written in good faith. It is easy for a desperate woman to imagine that she is a burglar, a prostitute, murderer or bandit. This also explains the ruthlessness of women in business; and, if you see a woman who seems to be resolved to make a holy show of herself, you will generally find behind her an empty larder.

C. F. met at Carlsbad one of the Hollywood movie magnates. He had himself just seen a fine performance of Lessing's "Minna von Barnhelm," and he told the great man that he should make a picture of it. They talked for a while of other matters, and then, as they were parting, the magnate said, "Now what about this fellow Lessing? When you see him, ask him how much he wants for his play."

The notion of sexual continence came from the Orient, from the most sensual regions, where the sexual temptations were the strongest.

No doubt, every virtue originated at the point, in the group, where the opposite temptation was the strongest. Gluttony and acedia were the sins of the monastic life because eating and idleness were almost the only channels through which the monks could know excess.

The monastic mind was the sieve of antiquity. Through this everything was filtered that has come down to us. Thus

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

little but the noble and the ribald has survived, the monastic mind in action and reaction. The monastic mind is the measure of ancient society as we know it.

As the English, who may well be the last of the imperial races—for the empires rising now are of quite another order—as the English have been certainly the handsomest of races, so every race must have been beautiful at the time when it was dominant. Think of the Romans of the great period, and the Greeks down to Alexander; for energy and vitality presuppose health and comeliness. No doubt in their heyday the Serbians, the Syrians, the Babylonians shared for a time this personal physical splendor. The Bible gives us Judith, Ruth, Naomi as types of the classical Jewess; and one may take Colonel Hutchinson as characteristic of the classical Puritan type of the seventeenth century.

From Allston's various journals I gather these brief remarks:

There are some people who take a fierce delight in doing what they do not want to do.

Earnest people are often people who habitually look on the serious side of things that have no serious side.

Good people are often sweet, but sweet people are not so often good.

How few people are able to praise without appearing to patronize, even when they sincerely admire.

What solemn zanies are these sex-pedants, with their talk about "love-play."

Nothing is sadder than the consequences of having worldly standards without worldly means.

Suggestion for a collector—to collect lenses ground by Spinoza.

What a strange separation of faculties is possible in a human being. X, as a man, is the soul of kindness and honor, yet intellectually—and I speak by the book—he is both a fool and a knave.

Cant is moral assumption without moral feeling.

There are some knots that have to be cut. When two live wires become entangled, one cannot grasp the wires to separate them without renewing the shock. It is often so in human relations. One has to cut the knot, no matter at what price of self-respect or otherwise unnecessary misunderstanding.

Nothing is so soothing to our self-esteem as to find our bad traits in our forbears. It seems to absolve us from them.

It is only the instructed soul who represents the present. The crowd is the soul of the future in the body of the past.

After one of these, he adds:

Epigrams are truly like coins. There are very few whose image and superscription are not obliterated if we carry them long enough in our mental pockets.

VAN WYCK BROOKS

This is the seventh article in the series, "Opinions of Oliver Allston."—THE EDITORS

Martha Graham: A Dedication

Pursuit has met its definition—here
Where the ancient hills and pear-shaped summer frame
The human spirit in a time of fear,

Direction yields the hunting heart a name.
Who in art's deathly discipline has learned
The kissing awkwardness of life, may claim

This moment like a shore against whose mourned
And disbelieved bare beaches beats the pulse;
I have denied mirage, I have returned

To meet the measured proof of one who wills
And moves with love, consummate on the dust.
Let those with torches rage up to the sills,

That definition holds. There is a trust
I mean to keep, in spite of heroes who,
With loosening courage in a day of lust,

Debauch their honor or with words undo
Tower and manifesto. Only the dead
Like Lincoln in his baroque grave may know

No sentence of that failure I have read
Upon the pages of my time. Come, then,
Self of myself, on mortal proof be fed:

Here moves that one whose morning eyes retain
The dark experience of night; whose touch,
Uncaptured in tall stone, cannot remain.

Of one enduring purpose may she teach
The nihilist, the fraud—all who parade
Our easy famous pages, all who watch

The artist's antic like a lewd charade
And bitterly applaud. Though men discern
A faith that will not stay among the dead,

Nor keep the simple confines of an urn,
Lost is the immemorial wonder here.
When temples go, and wailing cycles turn

The stones of Greece, the gaudy perisphere,
Only the unseen imprint, one with hers,
Outwits the mossy ruin of its year.

Illusionless, distrusting even stars,
I have come home; now is the spirit marked,
And faced, free to its sovereign choice, with doors.

JOHN MALCOLM BRINNIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Notes

If Germany Wins

DEMAND for a statement of British war aims and United States peace objectives is becoming less insistent, and for a good reason: the emerging Nazi peace program is so ugly that any alternative seems preferable. It is enough for the leaders of Britain and the United States to oppose the Nazi peace plan. For their people, the status quo, bad as it may be in some ways, is infinitely preferable. Even the worst of the Anglo-American tories, if given a free hand, could scarcely devise a world order offering the common people less than the Nazis mean to give them.

Reliable information now finding its way out of Germany, through diplomatic and other channels, leaves no doubt that the Nazis are organizing for economic conquest of the world once their military conquest of Europe is an accomplished fact, as they apparently believe it will be shortly. This information lay behind the President's speech on May 17. The trade offensive is already blueprinted. Europe-wide cartels, run from Berlin, are in process of organization in the key industries. Unless their plan goes awry, the Germans will be ready to flood the markets of the world with the products of state-controlled industries employing semi-slave labor, the day the war ends.

All kinds of machinery, from cheap cars to turbines, will be ready for exchange on a barter basis for food and raw materials as well as the specialties of France, Italy, Spain and the other conquered nations. They will be offered at whatever prices they may bring.

American goods, produced by free men organized into unions and commanding decent wages, will be elbowed out of world markets by German competition. The Nazis will buy no more than they have to from the United States, and then on terms they will be in a position to dictate because of their bargaining superiority as masters of a wholly controlled European economy. True, they will have to buy our cotton, at least until other sources are developed, and some other less important products. But what will they exchange for it, tractors? And if they pay in tractors, what will happen to Henry Ford's tractor business? And then what will happen to Ford's newly organized employees?

There is nothing new, of course, about the menace to American foreign trade, and consequently to the commercial system which depends upon it, for disposal of certain highly important surpluses, inherent in a German victory. What has only recently been fully realized, even in official Washington, is the extent of German preparation for a post-war trade blitz and the seriousness of the disaster it threatens. Germany had built her war machine before this country started shifting from peacetime to wartime economy; Germany may well be ready for peacetime production before this country can start to shift back. Indeed, a quick termination of the European war would, in all probability, plunge this country into a worse depression than the last one.

Assume for a moment that Germany does win the war this year and that she succeeds in organizing for peace as efficiently as she organized for war. The United States will have no alternative but to go totalitarian or near-totalitarian in one way or another. The products we used to sell in world markets will have to be distributed and consumed at home. For the products we used to buy abroad, we shall have to find domestic substitutes. To accomplish this, the government will have to establish tight control over production and distribution.

All this might conceivably be done to the advantage of the nation, particularly the submerged third. It might be done under a system of social democracy by carrying New Deal measures of control a few steps farther. But it probably wouldn't be. Another depression of 1929 proportions would create the very atmosphere in which fascism thrives.

Obviously the way to avoid this is to prevent the Nazis from winning the war. The Anglo-American cause is not hopeless, however hard the Lindberghs try to make it seem so. It will become hopeless only if they succeed in convincing us or if Great Britain goes down in spite of our help. Germany can still be licked by the combined productive might of the British and American nations. And there is no good reason why the peace that follows an Anglo-American victory should not leave the world a better place than it was before this war.

Discouraging as the war news has been and probably will continue to be through this summer, preoccupying as the problem of war production has been and likewise will continue to be, administration officials have been giving some thought to the kind of peace that should come out of this war. Their ideas have not crystallized, but they are beginning to take shape. This much seems agreed: there should be a return to something like the free world trade of the last century with artificial tariff barriers and other restraints reduced to a minimum; every nation should have access to raw materials, but in open markets, not in subject empires; to facilitate movement of goods there should be a return to some standard of world monetary exchange.

The President may have something to say about all this in his speech on May 27, but he probably will not consider it necessary to outline a detailed peace program. There is a war to be won first and the American people seem to realize that any peace will be better than a Nazi-dictated peace. What they want to know now and what he will most likely try to tell them is how he proposes to take the power of European dictation away from them.

The Treasury is revising its profits-tax recommendations upwards. The testimony of Chairman Marriner S. Eccles of the Federal Reserve Board and Director Leon Henderson of the Price Control Administration before the House Ways and Means Committee, recommending steep profits-tax schedules, precipitated a row among Treasury experts. Secretary Morgenthau intervened in support of the Eccles-Henderson position, and rates tentatively drawn up but never published were withdrawn. The new schedule, if accepted by Congress, will plug loopholes in the present jerry-built law and redeem President Roosevelt's promise to countenance no war profiteering this time.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Another Hit

CAROL REED, who directed "Night Train," has hit the jackpot again with "Girl in the News," produced by Gaumont-British, released in this country by Twentieth Century-Fox and currently playing at the Globe. It lacks the fast and furious action of the earlier picture, the cross-continent chase with gun-play, the sure-fire interest that comes from a World War II plot and a camera that roams over half of Europe. All of which may mean that the job of creating swiftness of pace, suspense and sustained interest without many of the popular scare-devices was a tougher one. Certainly the result is a tight and well knit drama made out of pretty unpretentious material.

The opening scenes plunge you right into the middle of the plot with no wasted footage. A young nurse falsely accused of the murder of a patient is acquitted only to find herself involved almost immediately in an exact replica of the other death. Sympathy and curiosity are aroused in the first case and then comes the rising sense of horror when the second crime occurs as a kind of super-climax. The audience is let in on most of the facts at the start so that extra excitement is derived from a feeling of participation in the confused gropings of the principals. So far credit may be chiefly due Roy Vickers, who wrote the original novel, but the special quality that Carol Reed imparts is the sense of danger lurking beneath the daily routine of normal people, violence in casual encounters, ground glass in the kippers. His people move and speak easily and naturally in plausible situations, with everything an integral part of the pattern.

Margaret Lockwood as the nurse is appealing enough to enlist you on her side instantly; Barry K. Barnes as the young lawyer who twice defends her, while no Rex Harrison for ease and charm, does a nice job; and Emlyn Williams is properly menacing as the butler. The minor characters are cast with a fine eye to detail, especially the neurotic old lady who starts all the trouble in the first place. Basil Radford as the doctor seems a little lost without his side-kick, Naunton Wayne, but even in the barest of parts manages to make it his own.

There are one or two things that don't add up. The trick at the end is a clever one, but may strike you as a careless wind-up of the business in hand—the solution through confession rather than deduction. But this is a minor point and you'll find "Girl in the News" a good example of a picture that gets seen and liked because the people and not the producers say so. M. B.

Cameras-Rolling Department. – William Wyler had a curious break. He and Philip Dunne (writer) worked three months in a preparation of "How Green Was My Valley," to which Twentieth-Century-Fox was giving its productional all. Then because of commitments and weather and star availability, he had to release the picture to John Ford, who is about to start work on it. Wyler himself, one of the best men in the business, is already shooting on "The Little Foxes," which looks like another to wait for. Preston Sturges is going into work with a new picture. John Brahm has had poor breaks in this country so far but is remembered, and he is starting now on some story that may mean nothing but on a Fox contract, which under the new policy there may mean quite a lot. Otto Brower has had a picture on location in the Middle West for weeks and something ought to come of that. The most recent crop of emigrés is settling down. Julien Duvivier is starting a picture. Jean Gabin is filling John O'Hara with hope for the picture they have both been assigned to and John is cooking up. And so on.

I suppose we may not expect anything like a renaissance for any scheduled time: the pictures will come out as the good things always come out, scattered here and there through the dull season. But it does seem that a better time is in store, if blubber-mouth fools can be prevented from turning the accumulated art of movies into the new melo-roll fad of goody-here's-a-war-and-the-last-one-in's-a-dirty-word (the hysteria is already high enough so that one director who happens to be an active and accredited reserve officer dare not point out the technical error of drafting him as a private for a year or forever, and so packs his bag and holds his peace). The men who make pictures are getting more of a chance to make them; it may be accident or it may be the gradual advance into some say-so of an art form's indispensable talent. One takes one's pick and one hopes one's hope. From where I am it looks like a better year for movies, holding a fine promise and a damnable if.

O. F.

The Bandwagon

The basis of future trade relationships between Germany and the United States must be founded on coöperation, I was told. The Germans were frank in their statements that they saw no relevance between trade and political philosophy. Business was business, based upon reciprocal needs, and it was, from their viewpoint, no more logical for people of different political faiths to refuse to recognize each other commercially than for people of different religions to shun one another's society. – *John Cudahy, former American Ambassador to Belgium, as reported in The Detroit News.*

WANTED financial aid to build rejuvenating garden, where old people can become or grow youthful, learn to live anywhere on anything. Guarantee results. Discoverer of immortality. Eli Ekach, 6 Superior St., Duquesne, Pa. – *Advertisement in The Pittsburgh Post-Dispatch.*

He [Mayor Hague] urged his listeners to "disregard politics" and consider the candidates of the two tickets chiefly from the standpoint of their ability to protect Jersey City in case of an attack by a foreign power. – *From The New York Times.*

A Thought for Today

Mrs. [Kathleen] Norris said that the damage done by bombings in London was not as bad as the damage in the San Francisco earthquake of 1906. She added that San Francisco survived. – *From The New York World-Telegram.*

Sauce-for-the-Gander Department

For Sale—Laying ducks and drakes. Phone 212 R3. – *Advertisement in The Eau Claire (Wisc.) Leader.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

Taxes on Idle Funds

SIR: While there is much talk of sales taxes and higher rates on small and medium incomes, it is curious that no one suggests taxing the idle funds of investors or the excess cash reserves of corporations. Who is better able to pay a tax than a man with $100,000 lying idle in the bank? And is it not better to put idle money to work than to raise taxes on consumer incomes while there are still at least 5,000,000 unemployed?

Young men drafted into the army from private jobs suffer a drastic reduction in pay. But money borrowed from investors is rewarded with an *increased* rate of interest. Long-term government bonds yield two percent, but the new defense bonds yield from 2.5 to 2.9 percent. This is an increase of from 25 to 45 percent. Why the discrimination in favor of investors?

A tax on the idle investment funds of individuals and the excess cash reserves of corporations is entirely practical and fully justified. It would have the following desirable effects:

1. The Treasury could sell bonds bearing a lower rate of interest. Investors would rather buy one-percent bonds than pay a tax on their idle funds. Thus the burden of interest on the national debt would be less in the years to come.

2. The tax would cause corporations to pay out their excessive cash reserves as dividends and thus create more taxable income, particularly in the higher brackets. (U. S. Steel earned $3.48 per share in the first quarter and paid out only $1.)

3. The tax would stimulate the purchase and cause a rise in the prices of outstanding securities and increase the yield of taxes on capital gains.

Although we are told that these are critical times and that we cannot expect "business as usual," we are apparently going to have "finance as usual." We are all asked to make sacrifices, but investors, banks and business concerns are making no sacrifice when they lend money at interest to the government. Further than that, they cling to their right to lend on their own terms, or not to lend at all if they do not choose to, whatever the need of the government.

Those who say we are engaged in a struggle for freedom and democracy should specify whose freedom and whose democracy.

Boston, Mass. GEORGE RICHMOND WALKER

Students and Draft Deferment

SIR: Many college men about to be called for selective service seem to think they should "get it over with" as soon as possible. I think this is a mistaken idea which will hinder defense more than it will help it. It is contrary both to the principle of *selective* service and to sound national policy.

All college men in training for any profession or technical occupation will serve the country best by staying in school. This is the implication of the most recent rulings of the National Selective Service Board and the recommendations of the American Council on Education. Francis J. Brown, of the Council (who also is a good sociologist), speaking in Cincinnati on April 28, said, "It is a matter of patriotism to continue your training. . . ." The responsibility for seeking deferment is directly upon the student working through his local draft board. The point I am trying to make is that all serious and able students should regard it as a patriotic duty to seek such deferment. They should not let anyone convince them that it is a kind of "slackerism." The worst type of slacker is the able man who unnecessarily gives up his professional training either "to get a good job" or "do his hitch."

It looks like a long war and one in which trained personnel will count more heavily than in any previous war. It is also a war, no matter who wins, that will leave the world badly confused and disorganized. Therefore, it is imperative that we should not be deprived of that trained leadership which is indispensable both for winning the war and helping to create a more decent world after the war is over. If we are not careful we again may win a war and lose a peace.

Hence, it is very important that all able young men should continue their professional or technical training until it is completed. Personally, I believe it is just as important for students of the social sciences and the humanities to continue in school as it is for those in the physical and biological sciences. Perhaps it is more important because our success in achieving the kind of a world we are fighting for will depend to a large extent upon the kind of social intelligence possessed by business men, teachers, preachers, journalists, literary men, lawyers and social-welfare experts.

Miami University, Oxford, Ohio READ BAIN

Ivory Towers for Writers?

SIR: Judging from Edmund Wilson's literary supplement, "American Writing: 1941" [The New Republic, April 21], American writers are climbing into an ivory tower thinking it to be a bomb shelter. The same conclusion can be drawn from Laughlin's "New Directions: 1940," in which I am the sole writer expressing a progressive social affirmation.

The influence of Marxist thought on writing during the thirties gave the vitality to American writing so lacking since the works of Whitman. This can't be denied; and the conditions which brought about this social vitality still exist. American democracy and American writing go hand in hand; at the time democracy meant most to the workers via the New Deal, that expression was felt in the writings of the thirties. Now that the New Deal is being scuttled to save British imperialism and our own Wall Street, the significant writing is being forced underground while the "summer soldier-writers" are rationalizing their revised credos through a maze of red-baiting (or should I say their "alter-credo" is asserting itself?).

These turn-tail writers will be as unknown as yesterday's newspaper; but the writers who stand by the workers and farmers in America will express the significant writings of 1941.

Berkeley, Calif. GEORGE KAUFFMAN

Planning in Agriculture

SIR: As a footnote to George Fort Milton's article on "Preparedness for Peace" [The New Republic, April 28] it should be emphasized, I think, that the pattern for governmental planning that he proposes already exists in the Department of Agriculture. Mr. Milton's reference to this Department's activity deserves some elaboration.

The useful lessons to be drawn from the Department's experience with central planning are many, but two of them are worth special mention. The first is that large-scale governmental planning must be genuinely coöperative. In other words, any attempt to formulate programs will be futile unless the administrators of those programs participate in the planning process.

The other is that some way must be found, ultimately, to provide for a continuous reference of policy to the mass of citizens affected by policy and programs alike. Gargantuanism in government can be successfully combated in this day only if a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mechanism is provided whereby the citizen can share in the week-to-week decisions that are playing an increasing part in his daily life. In an emergency, it is obviously impossible to provide such reference without paralysis of administration. But for the purpose Mr. Milton is talking about, citizen participation is not only possible, it is indispensable.

One other aspect of planning as it is practised in this department may be of interest to your readers. The agency through which programs are formulated and revised by the Department is the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. This bureau is also the central economic and social-research agency of the Department. The wisdom of former Secretary Wallace in providing for a synthesis of the planning and technical jobs has been amply proved in the little more than two years since it was accomplished. This particular example is one, of course, that is not of universal applicability, as are the other two previously mentioned, because other fields may not make such stringent daily demands upon research as does agriculture.

RUSSELL SMITH, Acting in Charge,
Division of Economic Information

Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D. C.

"The Invasion of Greece"

[When Jeremy Ingalls submitted the poem published on page 722 of this issue, she accompanied it with the following letter. We thought it so interesting that we obtained her permission to publish it. – THE EDITORS]

SIR: In "The Invasion of Greece," I wanted to do three things: I wanted to write in English verse a set of lines which give me the same emotional reaction I have from the choric lines in the Greek tragedies; second, I wanted to record the unbelievably poetic conversation I have known among native Greeks now living in America (every quoted line is verbatim from a native Greek family whose name I could give you); and third, I wanted to show the line of relation between classic Greece and modern Greece as these people feel it—people who have actually, in their kitchens, told over to me the ancient stories which I would have sooner believed had lain asleep in college textbooks. The story of Oedipus told in Greek by a youngish (forty-five) man sitting on the side of an old kitchen sink—telling the story as he remembered it from school reading in Greece—is an experience to cherish.

JEREMY INGALLS

Gloucester, Mass.

Hutchins and St. Thomas

SIR: In The New Republic for March 31, in your brief reply to Mr. Hagedorn's letter in defense of Mr. Hutchins, you not only fail to give any satisfaction to those who protest against your summary treatment of Hutchins, but you have now offended all neo-Thomists, and, because no one can be a neo-Thomist without being also and primarily a Thomist, all Thomists.

Why is it that journalists and editors who would blush for shame at being caught out on a minor point in Marx, Dewey or Veblen, deliver themselves of unscholarly and naïve generalizations about theology without even a pretense of competency in the field of theology?

Your implication in the sentence: "His [Mr. Hutchins'] insistence on moral perfection inside a democracy before it could tackle its problems of danger outside was in line with the absolutism of neo-Thomist dogma, as it is in line with other absolutisms as well," is simply not true of the spirit of either Thomist or neo-Thomist thought.

If it *is* in line with neo-Thomist dogma, then Jacques Maritain and St. Thomas himself are not in line. St. Thomas and Maritain are both interested in moral perfection, for the group as well as for the individual, but neither disallows direct action when justice demands it. Perfection is never a prerequisite for this action. May I offer two quotations in proof:

> Hence whatever certain people have in superabundance is due, by natural law, to the purpose of succoring the poor. . . . It is lawful for a man to succor his own need by means of another's property, by taking it either openly or secretly; nor is this properly speaking theft or robbery. – Summa Theologica, 2a, 2ae, Q. 66, A. 7 (Dominican translation, Vol. 10, pp. 232-3).

We do not think enough of the terrible march of the justice of God through human history. There are certain effects of justice demanded by the deepest laws of the equilibrium of Being which one would say that God would have at all costs: if He does not find saints who procure these effects of mercy, He charges men in revolt to procure them in ruins. – "Theonas: Conversations with a Sage," J. Maritain, p. 144.

THE REVEREND MOTHER RACHEL, O.S.A.

Convent of St. Anne, Versailles, Ky.

Public Opinion and Labor

SIR: An urgent problem today is to prevent the anti-labor agitation of the press and of some members of Congress from taking over public opinion. I suggest that a committee be formed to investigate and set before the public, through, unfortunately, the same press, the facts in every important strike: a committee which would do for labor what the American Civil Liberties Union has done for civil liberties. Thus the fact that the CIO accepted, and Allis-Chalmers rejected, the OPM settlement plan is a deep dark secret in most newspapers. The problem is to get the facts presented by an organization whose members command the respect and attention of newspapers and their readers. Clergymen, educators and writers should be included in such a committee. But the leaders must be important enough to command newspaper space.

ROBERT LINK

New York City

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Dr. Francis E. McMahon's plea to De Valera (The New Republic, May 12) was magnificent, writes S. M. Marquez from Washington, D. C., "and hope it induces the Irish-American clergy to think clearly. The clan bearing English grudges grows daily, and they forget the real issues." . . . Miss Eleanor Miltimore of Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York, thinks we ought to let the fascist propaganda keep right on coming through the mails. "Let the people understand fascism and its methods," she argues. "Then it can be controlled."

Daniel L. Powell Jr., of Detroit, says that "before anyone speaks, writes or thinks again about the war they should read Pierre Van Paassen's 'The Time Is Now.'" . . . William J. Burford, Indian Agency, Shiprock, New Mexico, writes to praise Budd Schulberg's first novel, "What Makes Sammy Run?"

Jean M. Jackson of San Francisco protests that Malcolm Cowley's essay, "Poets and Prophets" (The New Republic, May 5) "is built upon the sandy prior assumption that Archibald MacLeish's damning definition of poetry as an art is correct." . . . Oscar C. Muller of Chicago says he is terribly disappointed at our "warmongering." "England can't win," he writes, "but you and the East can ruin our democracy in the futile, silly effort to make democracies of England, Bulgaria, Poland, China, etc., etc."

The Coöperative League tells us that the first tour of the American consumer movement is scheduled for July 7-19. It will cover 2,600 miles and is being handled out of the League's office at 167 West Twelfth Street, New York City.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books in Review

No Defense

HANSON W. BALDWIN of The New York Times is the most widely respected of our writers on military affairs. In the chapters of his new book[1] that deal directly with the army, the navy and the two air forces, he seems better informed and speaks with a tone of greater authority than any other civilian. The story he tells is partly reassuring but chiefly alarming. The navy, he says, "is strong, well trained, led by an alert, intelligent, hard-headed command"; it will do its job. The naval air force is unequaled. The military air force is small and not well balanced, although its planes are in general as good as any. The personnel of both the flying services "is excellent with one exception. Some of our higher-ranking officers and younger hotbloods have displayed definite lack of vision and uncoöperative qualities in so far as the surface forces are concerned."

For the army, he has little praise; he thinks that it hasn't yet decided what sort of army it wants to be. The few well trained units have been diluted with conscripts. The officers from West Point are as a type unimaginative and concerned with detail work. They feel less loyalty toward the army as a whole than toward their special branch of the service, and this leads to sometimes ridiculous confusions: for example, "the cavalry, which used almost precisely the same type of light tank as the infantry, could not call their tanks 'tanks' but had to designate them 'combat cars.' " But the most disturbing part of Mr. Baldwin's story is that there is no general coöperation among the armed forces—"no unity of command, no unified planning, no higher war college where strategic planning by all arms is possible, as in France, no general staff of experts who know the capabilities and limitations of armies, navies, air forces, who understand the finely articulated integration of all this into a fighting machine." Instead we have several fighting machines, each rumbling along independently and sometimes bumping into one another.

In describing these faults and prescribing ways to end them, Mr. Baldwin is wise, temperate and convincing. But when he advocates an international policy for this country to follow, he is like most of our military writers in revealing a lack of political training. He gets himself involved in a whole series of honest but hopeless contradictions:

1. He asserts more than once that we are confronted by a world revolutionary movement. He believes, however, that it can be met and defeated by a trained army of half a million men—six hundred thousand at the most. "With such an army," he says, "we can face the future secure in the knowledge that here at last is a military policy to test the worth, the pride of any American—*the best army in the world*. And with such an army—a business man's army, stable as to numbers and budget—we can face the peace." A few pages further on, he is saying that "modern war is a total war of peoples to which all the energies of the nation must be harnessed." How can it be won; how can America "face the future secure," with a strictly budgeted business man's army?

2. He says that a British victory would be greatly to our interest as a nation, and therefore advises us to "give Britain all possible aid short of war." But to this advice he attaches two qualifications: "first, that such aid will not materially impair our own defenses; second, that the aid is really *short of war*." The first of these qualifications would delay or render impossible a British victory by cutting off the supply of long-range bombers, which Mr. Baldwin mentions as needed at home. The second would be used by the Germans as a means of blackmail, as an excuse for claiming that any shipment of goods was an act of war, and hence it would end by completely destroying our power to help Britain.

3. He also believes that although a British victory is desirable, it is not vital to our safety. In another place he says, "We must not fight in two oceans simultaneously." Yet if Britain is defeated and Japan remains faithful to the Axis, that is exactly the war we shall have to fight.

4. He insists that our policy must be aggressive: "To defend is to be attacked; passive defense has never won wars." Again he says, "The enemy must be kept at arm's length across the seas. To put it crassly, the war, if it comes, must be fought on other people's soil." Yet the subtitle of his book is "Defense of the Western Hemisphere" and the policy he advocates is chiefly defensive, a policy of assuming limited liabilities and waiting to be attacked.

Or, to be more exact, it is a compromise policy, dictated partly by his fears and partly by his desires: this explains its contradictions. Mr. Baldwin deeply fears a war that would disturb the internal security of this country; he is appalled by the thought of armed revolution. He is attached to the country as it is, and deeply desires that it should remain substantially unchanged in the midst of a world catastrophe. Therefore he suggests a policy that seems to combine the best features of imperialism and isolationism—hemisphere defense, a cordon of ships around North and South America, supported by long-range bombing planes based on Halifax, Trinidad and a new base that he wants to know why we haven't acquired at Pernambuco. With such measures taken, he thinks that the totalitarian nations could never successfully attack us.

One respects Mr. Baldwin for his sincerity as well as his wide information, and most of all for the candor with which he reveals his own doubts. Yet there are arguments against hemispherical defense that he has failed to consider, even though they have often been mentioned by others. These arguments are largely political and economic. We have learned that the ruling caste in most of the South American countries has no great faith in democracy, and would have even less if Britain surrendered. Neither the rulers nor the impoverished masses have shown any instinctive sympathy for *los Norteamericanos*. We should have to persuade, bully or even conquer them before we gained the right to defend them. Commercial relations are handicapped

[1] United We Stand! Defense of the Western Hemisphere, by Hanson W. Baldwin. New York: Whittlesey House. 364 pages. $3.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Fight for Freedom Is On!

Our Sponsors Include

Dr. James B. Conant
Johannes Steele
Luigi Antonini
Joseph P. Lash
Rev. J. A. McHugh
Dorothy Parker
Dr. Francis E. McMahon
Jay Franklin Carter
Louis Adamic
Robert S. Allen
William F. Cochran
Kenneth Crawford
Herbert Agar
John Farrar
Frank Rosenblum
Marshall Field
Dr. Edwin F. Gay
George S. Kaufman
A. Philip Randolph
Stringfellow Barr
Stanley High
Ulric Bell
Richard Watts, Jr.
Judge Dorothy Kenyon
Ward Cheney
Prof. C. J. H. Hayes
Edward Lawson
George W. Martin
Freda Kirchwey
Henry B. Cabot
Rev. C. J. Callan
Walter Millis
Lewis Mumford
Max Eastman
Dr. William Allen Neilson
Jack Altman
Dorothy Overlock
Dr. Conyers Read
Robert Spivack
Helen Gahagan
Rex Stout
Kenneth Thomson
James P. Warburg
Ralph Block
Dr. Frank P. Graham
Mrs. Robert E. Sherwood
Maxwell Anderson
Waldo Frank
Col. William J. Donovan
Dr. Harry D. Gideonse
Dr. Christian Gauss
Humphrey Cobb
Rear Admr. Yarnell (Rtd.)
Van Wyck Brooks
Kurt Weill
Frank Grillo

THE fight for freedom is not only a fight *against* Hitler but a fight *for* true democracy.

There would be no Hitler but for what Van Paassen calls "the abdication of the decent." Freedom can be murdered by armed aggression from abroad; but it can also die of neglect at home.

American democracy is a code of conduct. If we accept that code we must live more self-disciplined and more difficult lives. If we accept that code we can build the economic democracy without which political democracy is a failure.

The Fight for Freedom Committee is pledged to war against the Axis, against the "new order" based on the degradation and oppression of man. The Committee is also pledged to the struggle against domestic injustice. Peace is a by-product of justice. That is true in the field of labor and of racial relations at home; it is true in the international field.

The Fight for Freedom Committee stands for justice in both fields. It affirms that we shall not have time to build a just America unless we help to destroy the Axis revolution against all human hopes. And it affirms that we shall not have the united will to resist this revolution unless we move steadily toward more equality of privilege and of sacrifice in our own country.

The Fight for Freedom Committee has sent the following telegram to the President, and to every Senator and Congressman:

"At last the high officers of the Administration have spoken. At last we know what we have long sensed; that the danger is absolute and that we must face it tomorrow. We believe a national emergency must be proclaimed at once. We urge a break in diplomatic relations with our implacable foes. We urge the use of our mighty naval force to hold the seas of the world against the enemies of the world. America is ready, as always, to do her duty to the cause. Let's wait no longer."

.....

Signed

If you agree with the foregoing—

1. Sign the above message or its equivalent with your name and address and send it to the President and to each of your Senators and Congressmen. **2.** Sign and return the attached membership coupon to The Fight for Freedom Committee. A contribution in any amount will help. **3.** Form a group in your community to run an advertisement like this one in your local paper.

The Fight for Freedom Committee

1270 Sixth Ave., New York City • Telephone CIrcle 6-4250

SENATOR CARTER GLASS
Honorary Chairman
Washington, D. C.

Rt. Rev. HENRY W. HOBSON
Chairman
Cincinnati, Ohio

FRANCIS P. MILLER
Vice-Chairman
Fairfax, Va.

MRS. CALVIN COOLIDGE
Vice-Chairman
Northampton, Mass.

WAYNE JOHNSON
Treasurer
New York, N. Y.

F. H. PETER CUSICK
Executive Secretary
New York, N. Y.

I hereby join The Fight for Freedom Committee. I agree with the point of view expressed in its telegram to Congress. I will support any action *toward the end of defeating Hitler.*

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the fact that many of the principal South American products—beef, corn, cotton, wheat—are not needed in the United States and in normal times are exported to Europe, where they compete with the agricultural products of this country. For us to buy them from Argentina or Brazil and hold them out of the market—as was proposed a few months ago—might be effective as a temporary measure, but as a permanent policy it would be more than even this rich nation could afford, especially while it was competing economically with Hitler's New Order and preparing for total war.

And the fact is that the unity of the Western Hemisphere is a geographical illusion. There is no railroad and as yet there is not even a highway connecting North and South America. The two continents are separated by the same ocean that lies between the United States and Europe. If we fought the totalitarian powers, all commerce across this ocean would be threatened by sea raiders, so that Bolivian tin and Brazilian wild rubber might do us little good. Except for a tiny strip of the northwest coast, the whole southern continent is east of Pittsburgh, and eastern Brazil is almost directly south of the Azores, which we have not yet claimed as part of this hemisphere. South America "below the bulge" is about the same distance from New York that it is from Bordeaux; the same distance from Dakar in Africa that it is from Trinidad. It follows that our problem of defending it would be almost exactly as great as the German problem of attacking it—except that in modern warfare the advantage of surprise and most other advantages lie with the aggressor. It is Mr. Baldwin himself who emphasizes the superiority of attack. When he asks us to defend the whole hemisphere, he is recommending a policy that contradicts all the military lessons he teaches in his book. This, of course, does not mean that the United States will surely be defeated if Britain falls; there are other policies this country might follow, though not without making revolutionary changes in American society. It does mean, however, that the defense of Britain is far more vital to our safety than Mr. Baldwin is willing to admit. MALCOLM COWLEY

Wolf! Wolf!

Wolf Child and Human Child, by Arnold Gesell, M.D. New York: Harper and Brothers. 107 pages, illustrated. $2.

IN THE AUTUMN OF 1912, according to Dr. Gesell, a she-wolf, "her teats gorged, her eyes . . . preternaturally mild" and her whole being "warmed by the chemistry of maternal hormones," adopted a Hindu baby girl. Nourished by "mammalian milk" (which, Dr. Gesell assures us, is "chemically very like" other milk), the child made "a remarkably effective adaptation to wolf mores," scrambling after the "pack" on their forays and adding her treble wail to that "weird nocturne" which every night, at ten, one and three, all wolves send up to the shivering stars.

She adapted herself physically as well as mentally to what Dr. Gesell, with a bold disregard of the dictionary, calls "wolverine" culture. Her spine modified to suit "bipatellar locomotion." A glow "emanated" from her eyes. Her canine teeth grew long and pointed and she ceased to perspire, tending rather "to pant and to extrude her tongue in the sun."

In 1919 the wolf mother adopted another child, also a girl. In 1920 the wolf was killed and the two children were placed in the care of the Rev. J. A. L. Singh, of Midnapore, who discreetly kept the whole matter a secret for six years lest it "prejudice their chances of marriage."

The younger child died in 1921, but the older lived until 1929, slowly readapting herself to human ways. She continued the "traditional wolf howl" at ten, one and three, but a human note was observed when, in 1922, she addressed Mrs. Singh as "Ma." In time she "toileted in the bathroom," to use Dr. Gesell's chaste phrase (though in a letter written to Paul C. Squires in 1926 the Rev. Singh stated gloomily that she didn't), and by 1927 she had "so far transcended wolf ways" as to be regular and devout in church attendance. In this she showed marked superiority to the Sikandra wolf boy (captured in 1867) who interrupted divine service by shouting "Dham, dham!" —a proceeding which Dr. Gesell says indicates "a low idiot plateau of mentality."

For his detailed account of life in the den Dr. Gesell acknowledges his indebtedness to "imagination and . . . conjectures." The capture and subsequent life in the orphanage are drawn from a diary, said to have been kept by the Rev. Singh, which was shown to Dr. Gesell by Professor Zingg of the University of Denver, who, we are assured, "has carefully checked the essential authenticity" of the whole business. "Carefully checked," like "wolverine," must here have some meaning not commonly attributed to it, for Dr. Zingg says (in The American Journal of Psychology, October, 1940, p. 499) that he has "unfortunately been unable to get in touch with scientists in India to check and recheck the cases." He has, however, he says, talked with at least two people who have traveled in India, one of whom referred him to The Illustrated Weekly of India for an account of a wolf child "exhibited at the Gwalior Baby Week."

There are other discrepancies. Dr. Zingg states that the children were found in "the tiger-infested jungles of northwest India." Dr. Gesell says they were found "some seventy miles south and west of Calcutta" (the one spot in the country, by the way, in which that great scientific authority, The Illustrated Weekly of India, says there are no wolves). The Rev. Singh's diary seems to support Dr. Gesell on this point, but Professor Zingg might question its value as an authority on the grounds that in his earliest published account the Rev. Singh does not say that he was an eye-witness of the finding. The problem is further complicated by the fact that a different account of the children, wholly irreconcilable, has been published on the authority of another minister, the Rev. John Howard, also of Midnapore.

Dr. Gesell has drawn from the narrative "illuminating conclusions" regarding heredity, environment and the capacity of the human mind to accept things. By rare good luck these conclusions confirm certain theories which he has long maintained.

The book is illustrated by photographs of Hindu children and a drawing entitled "the wolf mother." One of the photographs has apparently been retouched.

Dr. Gesell feels that more should be written about "feral

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man" and it is to be hoped that he will write it. The Sikandra boy sounds intriguing. And did the Gwalior Baby win a prize? What of the African baboon boy? the Lithuanian bear boy? the Irish sheep boy? and the swine girl of Salzburg? For ourselves, we have long wanted to know more about the Fish-man whom Stowe, in his "Annales," declares to have been a house guest at Orford Castle in 1187. And that Fish-woman, "with sea-mosse that did sticke about her," who was washed through the dykes at Edam in 1403 and lived for seventeen years in Harlem! More than *forty* ecclesiasts testified to *that* story and, what's more, their accounts agreed.

Eventually Dr. Gesell's researches may lead him to the the oldest of all wolf stories, Aesop's tale of the man who said he saw a wolf when he didn't and later discovered that reputation is a high price to pay for notoriety.

BERGEN EVANS

Rich and Various

The Art of Biography in Eighteenth-Century England, by Donald A. Stauffer. Princeton University Press. Volume I, 586 pages; Volume II, Bibliographical Supplement, 301 pages. Both volumes, $8.50; either volume alone, $5.

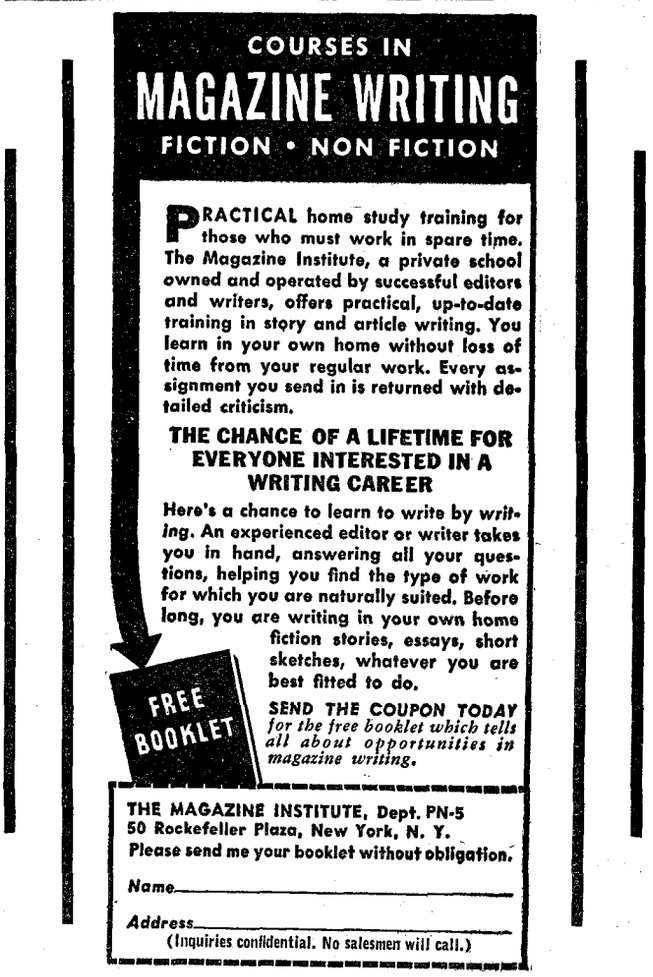
THE PRIME VIRTUE of these volumes is that they are crammed to richness with revealing quotation. Professor Stauffer has gone exploring and marauding through the biographical literature of the eighteenth century. His second volume, a bibliographical supplement, lists and sometimes briefly describes more than two thousand titles ranging through biography, autobiography, memoirs and journals; his first volume is devoted to detailed accounts of more than one hundred of these. The samples with which its pages are filled are sometimes curious trophies and sometimes the most variedly significant clues to the character of their vigorous age. From them, if the eighteenth century had never existed, it would be almost possible to invent it.

They are, indeed, a microcosm, little mirrors of the times reflecting from a thousand facets the variety and vitality of life itself. Here they are, many of them in their own words: the glitter and gallantry of Grammont, the footlight sparkle and frothy high spirits of Colley Cibber, the glamorous stage beauty "little Bellamy, as cold as ice and as conceited as the devil." Letitia Pilkington, who amused and angered Swift, deteriorates into a blackmailing and venomous whore, and the dreamy Mary Robinson lives the visions of a Gothic novel. The cocky John Macdonald, valet and Valentino, finds himself irresistible to ladies, odalisques and serving maids all the way from Edinburgh to Bombay. Fanny Burney chatters with vivacious sensibility about Dr. Johnson; Lord Hervey quotes George II's acid portrait of Chesterfield: "a little tea-table scoundrel, that tells womanish lies to make quarrels in families." Poor Cowper agonizes in suicidal religious mania and George De Benville tells how he died and journeyed through the seven habitations of the damned. The hundreds of quotations thus presented build up in Flemish brushstrokes the peopled landscape of the eighteenth-century world.

The main defect of Professor Stauffer's work is that all these thronging details remain almost as disorganized as the surface of the life of which they are fragments. His book is feeble in critical design. He devotes many pages to discussing the social currents reflected in the biography of the period and the social forces that affected its development, without throwing any searching light upon them; and of the conclusions he reaches there are few that even a reader far less learned might not have arrived at by himself. Hundreds of illustrations prove to us that the age of Rousseau and Sterne and of Methodist enthusiasm is reflected in biography by an intricate and sensitive analysis of self. The long and detailed chapter on "Biography and the Drama" establishes little more than that numerous actors wrote autobiographies and that biography increasingly used the devices of dialogue, stage-description and dramatic action to convey character. The plan of the entire book, furthermore, such as it is—and Professor Stauffer is a little apologetic for this in his introduction—involves a good deal of repetition. Tracing the influence of the drama, the novel, romantic sensibility, the gusto for varied experience, and psychological curiosity upon biographical technique as displayed in scores of minor figures, he then discusses most of the same points again in his chapter on "The Great Names"—North, Gibbon, Mason, Goldsmith, Johnson and Boswell—and finally summarizes them once more in his final chapter.

The riches of this book, then, and I hope I have made clear that it has riches, lie not in life organized but in life in all its primitive and chaotic variety. Professor Stauffer seizes unerringly on the best critical comments of the eighteenth-century biographers, but he is less a critic himself than a journalist-antiquary with a lively nose for news and an enjoyment of human nature. Our gratitude to him must be for those gifts.

EDGAR JOHNSON


COURSES IN
MAGAZINE WRITING
FICTION • NON FICTION
PRACTICAL home study training for those who must work in spare time. The Magazine Institute, a private school owned and operated by successful editors and writers, offers practical, up-to-date training in story and article writing. You learn in your own home without loss of time from your regular work. Every assignment you send in is returned with detailed criticism.
THE CHANCE OF A LIFETIME FOR EVERYONE INTERESTED IN A WRITING CAREER
Here's a chance to learn to write by writing. An experienced editor or writer takes you in hand, answering all your questions, helping you find the type of work for which you are naturally suited. Before long, you are writing in your own home fiction stories, essays, short sketches, whatever you are best fitted to do.
FREE BOOKLET
SEND THE COUPON TODAY for the free booklet which tells all about opportunities in magazine writing.
THE MAGAZINE INSTITUTE, Dept. PN-5
50 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.
Please send me your booklet without obligation.
Name
Address
(Inquiries confidential. No salesmen will call.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Must America Do?

Yesterday Is Dead, by Stuart Cloete. New York: Smith and Durrell. 273 pages. $2.50.
America Is Worth Saving, by Theodore Dreiser. New York: Modern Age Books. 292 pages. $2.50.
America's Dilemma: Alone or Allied? by Sir Norman Angell. New York: Harper and Brothers. 233 pages. $1.75.
Union Now with Britain, by Clarence K. Streit. New York: Harper and Brothers. 249 pages. $1.75.

IT CAN BE SAID of all these books that between publication and review dates the course of events in a world at war has not importantly affected the essential position of each. When you are able to say this about such assorted discussions of a question as broad as What Must America Do, it becomes fairly evident that the basic problem, at least, is clearly defined. That problem is whether the United States can exist as a working democracy in a Hitler-dominated world. The general verdict here is a sincere and well documented No. Only Theodore Dreiser says Why Not, and I, for one, don't question *his* sincerity, even though it has become the fashion to tap the forehead and say poor Dreiser.

It is Stuart Cloete's book that suggests the logical beginning. He says that "Yesterday Is Dead," and on that point there is full, if variously stated, agreement. Yesterday is dead if for no other reason than that most of mankind is being forced to take sides in a conflict that grew out of ever sharper recognition of that very fact. Mr. Cloete alone among these authors seems to regret it. His title is almost a lament; and his book, a rushing personal essay, is a partly confused, sometimes brilliant, but always melancholy search for an answer to the question: What ever got this potentially fine world into this awful mess? Cloete blames it on such diverse influences as modern man's excessive demand for material things, the greed of the reactionary rich, faulty education, insipid advertising and an unwholesome attitude toward sex; all of which gives him plenty of windmills to ride at and as often as not all that's left of his lance are the slivers in his hand. But he always has another lance. Cloete is a South African who knows and loves the frontier life which he described in "The Turning Wheels." And what he really dislikes is modern industrial society which comes between man and nature. But for all his nostalgia he can still read the signs. Yesterday is dead.

When it comes to fixing the more immediate causes behind the present war, and apportioning the blame, the authors present an impressive show of unanimity in spite of differences in approach. The one towering recognition is that Hitler's rise was backed and to some extent even engineered by the governments of the democracies. First by supplying the credits and raw materials that made it possible for Germany to arm; then by concurring in the mean and deliberate political surrenders that led to the final showdown. None of these writers is blind to the fact that Munich began in Manchuria and was hurried on by what happened in Ethiopia, Austria and Spain. It gives Dreiser his best opportunity to flay Britain and to question her democratic intent. Before you finish "America Is Worth Saving" you're apt to feel that you've been beaten about the ears with a sheaf of Daily Workers; but when Dreiser explores the fascist bent in English government and industry, it won't do merely to ignore him. Cloete knows the guilt of the democracies, too; and Sir Norman Angell, in "America's Dilemma: Alone or Allied," is less than convincing when he credits Chamberlain and Daladier with sincerity and patriotism, plays down the ideological character of the war and blames popular fear of decisive action in the democracies for the pro-Hitler game played by their reactionary governments.

It is not that Angell is disingenuous in his approach. It is simply that he emphasizes one point, the need for collective security, to the exclusion of the deep-seated factors that largely explain the nature of the present conflict. Mr. Streit, in "Union Now with Britain," to a certain extent runs the same narrow course. Angell argues, as he has many times before, that the United States missed a great chance in 1919 to help achieve a lasting international organization and permanent world peace. Cloete and Streit are of a similar mind. But Angell is careful to point out that the choice is not between bristling armaments and some kind of league; that collective security should mean the joint *use* of arms, if necessary, to defend any threatened member. But it is not so sure that Angell is wholly right in attributing Europe's collapse to the failure to agree on collective action at decisive points. It is at least as correct to say that, as far as England and France were concerned, there *was* collective action, but toward infamous ends.

Again, except for Mr. Dreiser, there is little difference of opinion as to what a victorious Hitler would mean to America. The forecast is by now familiar and probably is concurred in by most Americans. That through international-trade devices, economic penetration of Latin America, appeals to business men (whom Cloete labels the Achilles heel of America), encouragement of civil discord and possibly even direct attack, Hitler could ultimately destroy democracy in America. Dreiser disposes of the threat chiefly by ignoring it. Using the simplest of Marxist approaches, he sees this war as merely another imperialist squabble. To him the British Empire is a more vicious instrument of oppression than anything the Nazis could devise. As for Latin America, let Nazism establish itself there as firmly as it pleases, since we must realize that Latin Americans really have more in common with Germans and Italians than they ever could have with us. Let's stay in our own back yard and fix up the home place and we'll get along fine.

Dreiser's seeming complacence at the prospect of a Hitler-dominated world is due to more than shortsightedness. It is more probably the product of two deep hatreds. The first is a consuming Anglophobia which at times nearly unbalances him and leads to interim diatribes filled with half-truths and faulty interpretations of history. The second arises from the distress and want of millions of Americans resulting from the greed of those groups whose wealth and power depend on a national economy based on scarcity rather than plenty. And although a lot of this book dissolves at the approach of ordinary common sense (the assertion that economic democracy can be strengthened in America after a Hitler victory; the Anglophobia; the uncritical praise for life under Stalin, etc.), don't run out on Dreiser when he smashes away at the effort to smother

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

democracy here and now under the guise of unity, defense, etc. Have you seen the papers?

After Cloete's brooding and Dreiser's soap-box harangue, Clarence Streit's restatement of his plan for a world union of democracies seems almost like solid ground. Streit sells his idea a little too hard (he leans as heavily on the Founding Fathers to prove that we ought to tie up with Britain as Dreiser does to prove that we ought to shun her). He is up against a profound American dislike of formal political tie-ups that limit our absolute freedom of action. And his complete emphasis on a political mechanism (a Federal Union of all the world's democracies), with too little regard for the social and economic problems which would confront it, weakens his case enormously. Because in the long run, union (after this war) would be effective in maintaining world peace only to the extent that social and economic dissatisfactions could be eliminated.

But after these and a hundred other objections have been raised, Streit's plan remains the most practical proposal for some kind of international order yet made. He would have the Union (now limited to the United States and the British Commonwealth) offer peace to the Axis on the basis of the pre-Munich status quo, no reparations, no recriminations. He thinks Hitler might accept (unless today's headlines have changed his mind). If not, the Union would be forced to bring this war to a successful conclusion, after which membership would be open to any democratic state. Streit's main point right now is that the plan would be vastly strengthened by immediate adoption. In a sense it would be an answer to those who want a statement of war aims; it would at least offer a framework within which to work out a post-war order. The detailed plan of union elaborated by Streit might have to be altered at a score of points. The dominions might balk, the American people might balk, etc., etc. But there still remains the question, What do you offer in its place? To some it appears that none of the weaknesses of the plan are quite as awful to contemplate as the way things have worked out in the past twenty years. This reviewer is as well aware of the sound objections to the union idea (and some of the more capricious ones, too) as the next fellow. But a lot of those next fellows (some of our bright young realists among them) tell me that Streit is wacky and then go on to say that sure we'll have another war in ten years or so, no matter who wins now. All right, then; I like the kind of padded cell Streit is in.

MAX GISSEN

A Reader's List

FRANCE SPEAKING, by Robert de Saint Jean (Dutton, $2.50). A French journalist's diary, relating logically the decline of France from Munich to Vichy. The much-told story of political corruption, bureaucratic greed and the lack of leadership is given fresh significance through excellent quotations and new, enlightening material about the psychology of French diplomats and deputies.

A HISTORY OF FRENCH COMMERCIAL POLICIES, by Frank Arnold Haight (Macmillan, $2.50). Lucid, comprehensive account of major trends since Colbert, emphasizing developments from the Great War to the current one. Excellent sections on import quotas and on colonial commercial policies. Another volume in Carnegie Endowment's series on Commercial and Tariff History.

LIVING TREASURE, by Ivan T. Sanderson (Viking, $3.50). The author of "Animal Treasure" and "Caribbean Treasure" tells about his adventures in Jamaica, Yucatan, Haiti and the deep jungles of British Honduras. It's an exciting book about snakes, wild horses, crocodiles and dozens of other less conspicuous animals, written with gusto and scientific passion. Illustrated by the author.

THE LUNGFISH AND THE UNICORN, by Willy Ley (Modern Age, $2.75). Zoölogy with a difference. The low-down on lots of animals you'll never meet in your local zoo, presented here in a chatty, entertaining manner. Read this for the pertinent dope on the geirfugl, the sloth, the dodo and the unicorn.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCIENCES, Second Series, edited by L. L. Woodruff (Yale University Press, $3). Excellent popular essays in the history of science by qualified specialists on the faculty of Yale. Topics include: mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, geology, biology, psychology and medicine. The material is well selected and competently organized, with particular reference to the major figures and leading concepts within each of the sciences discussed.

MAN: THE MECHANICAL MISFIT, by G. H. Estabrooks (Macmillan, $2.50). A professor of Psychology takes a look at Man—and recoils in alarm at the spectacle of his rapid deterioration, biological and sociological. The theme—with confessed acknowledgements to E. A. Hooton—is that *homo sapiens* has more brains than is good for him. The author believes, among other things, that "medicine has done the race great potential damage in controlling the germ disease,"

JUST PUBLISHED

Selden Rodman's

superb narrative poem on the conquest of flight

THE Airmen

➡ "The book as a whole has a sweeping power and intensity."
—SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE

➡ "Technically a striking piece of work, skillfully planned, allusive, elliptic, nervous in style, varied in structure, and extraordinarily evocative at times."—N. Y. TIMES

$2.00, A RANDOM HOUSE BOOK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

favors eugenic sterilization of the "unfit" and in general considers that civilization as we know it is on its way out. A lugubrious book, wide open to critical attack.

THE DAM, by Jerome Ellison (Random House, $2). A middle-aged engineer who is down and out gets a job as superintendent on a WPA project. This takes care of his budget and his self-respect, and rehabilitates his son to boot. Cheerful, swift, easy reading, of the sentimental-in-a-strictly-hard-boiled-manner school.

PORTULACA, by Bernice Kelly Harris (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50). Guided tour through the better front parlors of a small Southern town. The heroine, who is middle-aged, has a feverish time of it, trying to keep up with her writing and in good with the community. A little vague in discussing this restless lady, "Portulaca" does a fine job on the pernickety tenets of a Southern Main Street.

THEY WENT ON TOGETHER, by Robert Nathan (Knopf, $2). Something out of the author's ordinary line: the story of a family's flight before a mechanized enemy army. Their plight cannot fail to be moving and Mr. Nathan has always known how to underline pathos, but because this whole dreadful business goes on in an imaginary country it seems to be that much less dreadful after all.

Contributors

PHILIP BREWSTER is the pseudonym of a young American who was in France from 1938 to February of this year. He worked for a Paris newspaper (not The Herald) and later in a steel mill, and has finished a novel.

JEREMY INGALLS has contributed verse to various magazines. Harcourt, Brace published this month a collection of fifteen of her stories, entitled "A Book of Legends."

JOHN MALCOLM BRINNIN has been an editor of Signatures and New Writing and has contributed verse and criticism to New Letters in America, Poetry, The New Masses and other periodicals.

BERGEN EVANS is an associate professor of English at Northwestern University and has contributed to The Atlantic Monthly, Scribner's, Esquire and other magazines.

EDGAR JOHNSON is a member of the English department at City College, New York, and the author of "One Mighty Torrent: The Drama of Biography."

MAX GISSEN was formerly editor of Teachers' Guide and is a frequent contributor to The New Republic.

Other Resorts in the Selected Listing

CENTER LOVELL, MAINE

QUISISANA CAMPS

At Center Lovell, in Maine's Pine Woods in the White Mountain Region
SITUATED ON *LAKE KEZAR*, THE MOST BEAUTIFUL LAKE IN AMERICA
QUAINT • RESTFUL • ROMANTIC

Cheerful individual cottages with bath, fireplaces, electricity. Main Lodge rooms with or without private bath. Food of highest quality, wholesome, tempting. Golf, tennis, boating, swimming, natural sand beach. Excellent fishing: Salmon, Black Bass, Brook Trout. Non-Sectarian. Ownership-Management.

RATES FROM $35 A WEEK AMERICAN PLAN WRITE FOR BOOKLET
SPECIAL RATES JUNE 15-JULY 15 Quisisana Camps, Center Lovell, Maine

CLASSIFIED RATE:

One line of 6 point type (6 words) 40c; One line of 5 point type (7-8 words) 33 1/3c.

NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street
New York, N. Y.

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.

MAMANASCO LAKE LODGE

RIDGEFIELD, CONN. PHONE: 820

A luxurious country estate, converted into a vacation paradise. New, modern, convenient. Magnificent lake. All outdoor sports—Tennis—Golf—Riding—Water sports. Fine Library. Musical Recordings. Sumptuous cuisine. 50 miles from New York.

OPEN ALL YEAR

VINALHAVEN, MAINE

THE BREAKERS

VINALHAVEN MAINE

An old New England farmhouse on the sea. Lobster, new peas, blueberry pie; a log fire; no radio.

NEW MILFORD, CONN.

WESTERN VIEW FARM
NOW OPEN
TED OHMER—NEW MILFORD, CONN.

ARMONK, N. Y.

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK, N.Y.

"A Country Estate in the Scenic Hills of Westchester County"

If you choose your hotel with the same care and taste as you would your home, visit this nearby resort. Exclusive, dignified, luxuriously furnished. All sport facilities. Excellent cuisine. Less than 1 hour from N. Y. C. Open All Year Phone: Armonk Village 955

SUMMER RENTALS

BRATTLEBORO vicinity. Secluded small new house, brook, rustic pool, garage. 280 acres woodland mountain, excellent hunting. $150 year. R. Pach, Brewster, N. Y.

ADIRONDACK FOOTHILL VILLAGE. 15-room house, beautifully furnished, 5 bedrooms, 3 baths, maid's room. Fireplace, library, grand piano, spacious lounge, garden, restful country atmosphere. All sports available. Address: Box 277, The New Republic.

ADIRONDACK LAKESIDE COTTAGE. Modern conveniences. Restful rustic atmosphere. Fireplace, large screened porch. 4 bedrooms. Boats, golf, etc. Special June all season rates. Box 278, The New Republic.

TWO APARTMENTS in renovated barn, 50 miles from New York. Private lake and tennis court, accommodate three $100; two, $125, for season. Phone: Mrs. Burke, CO 7-4646.

OLD BENNINGTON, VERMONT

TO RENT, furnished to October 1st, comfortable, convenient cottage, 5 bedrooms, 3 baths, unusual porch sitting-room about 40 x 13. Situated in uncommonly beautiful country and accessible to country-club facilities. Good motoring center for Vermont, New Hampshire and Western Massachusetts. Helen Phelps Stokes, Gray Gables, Old Bennington, Vt.

HAMPTON BAYS, L. I.; 10 rooms, furnished, 2 baths, electricity, waterfront, salt water bathing, wooded area, screened porch. 85 miles from N. Y. $400 season. McCarthy, 141 W. 11th St., New York. GR 7-7549.

NEW JERSEY: Bungalows, all sports, bathing. Children's day camp. SC 4-6732 or Plainfield 6-9734.

LANGUAGES

speak read SPANISH

QUICKLY, EASILY, CORRECTLY

The Linguaphone Method enables you to speak SPANISH—or any of 29 languages—by LISTENING to voices of native teachers *in your own home.* Amazingly simple, thorough, sound; FREE BOOK.

LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE
86 RCA Building New York City

BARGAIN PHONOGRAPH COURSES. We sell, rent, purchase, exchange. All Makes. 20 different sets in French alone. Mail Orders. Request Booklet R. LANGUAGE SERVICE, 18 East 41st St., N. Y. C.

APARTMENT TO SUBLET

SUBLET APARTMENT for the summer: 4 furnished rooms, Steinway, radio, near Teachers' College. $125 for July and August. Write or call, S. Beagle, 414 West 121st Street, N. Y. C. MOn. 2-9108.

FOR RENT

APARTMENT IN OLD-FASHIONED, detached house in Bay Ridge. 4 rooms, 2 balconies, refrigeration, oil heat, fireplace, garden, quiet neighborhood. $60. Tel. SHore Road 8-4706.

OPPORTUNITY FOR SERVICE

INTERESTING AND VALUABLE experience available in legal, research, administration and publicity for part or full-time volunteers, with expenses paid, at **American Civil Liberties Union,** 170 Fifth Ave., New York. Write or phone GRamercy 7-4329.

CAPITAL WANTED

"ANGELS" WANTED to help finish 25 years of work, developing evolutionary psychology as a new approach to social problems. I need a volunteer secretary, a bibliographer, money for printing and distributing among reference libraries one to ten books, whose outlook is too new and devastating for commercial publishers. Let me send a descriptive pamphlet to you. THEO. SCHROEDER, Coscob, Conn.

WEARING APPAREL

BECAUSE WE CLOSE June 28th for entire summer, every lovely model dress, suit and coat is offered at absolute clearance. Within the next month consult with us regarding vacation clothes problem. Miss Goodman, 474 Seventh Avenue (at 36th St.). LA 4-4013.

THEATRE

BEST PLAY OF THE YEAR! Vote these Members of the Critics' Circle

SAROYAN'S
NEW COMEDY
"THE BEAUTIFUL PEOPLE"

LYCEUM Theatre, 45 St. E. of B'way. CH 4-4256
Eves. Incl. Sun., 8:50. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 55c to $2.20.

STARK YOUNG
GEORGE JEAN NATHAN
JOHN ANDERSON
GRENVILLE VERNON
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
JOHN MASON BROWN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED